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16 MARCH 1987

# USSR Report

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LiSSR PARTY AKTIV DISCUSSES FATALITIES IN INDUSTRY, TRANSPORTATION

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 16 Dec 86 pp 1, 3

[ELTA report: "Requirement of the Time"]

[Text] On 15 December a meeting of the republic's party and industrial aktiv was held in Vilnius. Those present discussed the question of the need to reinforce discipline and organizational spirit and to increase responsibility with regard to guaranteeing safety in production, especially when using complicated technical equipment in the branches of the national economy.

The participants in the work of the meeting included the first secretaries of the party's gorkoms and raykoms, ministry and department administrators, chairmen of the ispolkoms of the rayon soviets of people's deputies, responsible workers from the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, the Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet, and LiSSR Council of Ministers, and other members of the party and economic aktiv.

Present at the meeting were Comrades P. P. Grishkyavichus, V. S. Astrauskas, Yu. I. Bernatavichus, A. K. Brazauskas, A. K. Kayryalis, V. K. Mikuchyauskas, N. A. Mitkin, Yu. Yu. Petkyavichyus, V. V. Sakalauskas, R. I. Songayla, A. A. Ferensas, P. P. Shileykis, V. A. Berezov, and Yu. M. Sheris.

B. N. Veretennikov, CPSU Central Committee responsible worker, took part in the work of the conference.

The meeting was opened by P.P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee.

A report on the question to be discussed was given by A. K. Brazauskas, secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee.

"Under today's conditions the question to be discussed takes on very great importance with regard to guaranteeing our forward movement along the path of social and economic development under conditions of fundamental restructuring," Comrade A. Brazauskas said. "For a prolonged period of time the work of guaranteeing safety in many branches of the national economy was in the background, and even now it has not yet become the object of attention everywhere on the part of the administrators or the party and public

organizations. The level of introduction of modern means of protection and control remains unsatisfactory and does not meet the requirements."

The largest number of fatal accidents occurs at enterprises and organizations of the Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways, the Ministry of the Forestry and Timber Industry, in construction, and in agriculture. A study of the reasons for various kinds of accidents on the job indicates that they are caused by a low level of labor and production discipline, laxity, and crude violations of the safety standards and rules not only by the workers, but also by individual managers and specialists.

It is necessary in every labor collective to create an atmosphere of taking an irreconcilable attitude toward any violations of production discipline. Today we can not yet state that we have achieved that situation. During the first 11 months of this year Gosgortekhnadzor [State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision] stopped the operations at 908 production locations and punished 1910 persons who were guilty of violations. But we have not yet achieved the desired results.

The organizations of Minstroy [Ministry of Construction], Litagropromstroy, and Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources] on eight occasions damaged gas pipelines while carrying out earth-moving operations, but the guilty individuals received practically no punishment. This creates conditions for new violations. Two fatal accidents occurred at the Akmayantsementas Production Association because of insufficient supervision of the way that operations were being carried out and because of violations of technological discipline.

A situation that causes serious concern is the increase in the number of fires and the amount of losses caused by them. There has been an increase in the number of fires at industrial enterprises and in the social sector of agricultural entities. We speak about fires on the most varied levels, but what is needed is painstaking work by the administrators, the party and soviet agencies, and the trade unions.

Nor is there proper order in the work of the transport organizations. The primary cause of all accidents is a sloppy attitude toward one's work, the lack of discipline, of supervision, or of proper inspection, as well as the failure on the part of the motor transport agency administrators to observe the proper principles in selecting drivers. The worst situation develops, as a rule, when a drunkard is put behind the steering wheel. And this is still a situation that occurs among drivers. It is a startling fact that the managerial workers themselves get behind the wheel while in an unsobeer state. What kind of discipline, then, can one expect of the workers?

Nor is everything normal on the railroad. People are dying as a result of collisions between trains, and trains are colliding with motor transport. Yet the guards at railroad crossings are being removed, even though the planned operations for providing those crossings with the proper signaling equipment have not been fulfilled. Potential accident situations still exist in the work of the Lithuanian Civil Aviation Administration and frequently it is impossible to find the persons guilty of creating them. It is obvious that

monitoring and the checking of execution in transport is frequently superficial and there is an insufficient amount of individual work with people.

Certain administrators in the outlying areas attempt to close their eyes and the production injuries are qualified as having occurred off the job. As a result, the reasons for the accidents are not ascertained or eliminated, and the guilty individuals remain unpunished. The concealment of accidents was established at a number of enterprises in Vilnius, Kaunas, Druskininkay, and in Vilkavishkskiy, Pakruoyskiy, Rokishkskiy, and other rayons. There is little analysis of the reasons for the increase in the number of injuries.

The new powerful technology is a potential carrier of danger, if we allow it to be used by persons who are unready to use it because of their professional or personal traits. The questions of personnel assignment are not yet being attentively considered everywhere, and the certification of individuals and the checking of their professional knowledge are not at the sufficient level everywhere. The administrators of party organizations do not always notice this. Even after the Buro of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee considered several questions dealing with labor safety and the reduction of injuries and required the carrying out of effective steps to improve the situation, a number of party raykoms and gorkoms failed to consider those questions. Many party committees direct their attention to fatal accidents.

The ministries and departments, and the administrators of enterprises and organizations, must increase the intensity of the work in this direction, must include safety requirements in the plans for new technology, and must constantly teach and monitor the workers. The supervisory bodies must make strict demands on those who take a negligent attitude to their duties. Questions of labor safety must be the object of discussion not only at the ministry and department boards of governors, but also at trade-union and worker meetings in the labor collectives. The law-enforcement agencies must require the strict observance of the legislation aimed at protecting labor. The omissions in the sphere of activity that we are discussing today must carry with them the responsibility specified in the legal articles that define the crimes against the life and health of the individual.

Much must be done by the party's gorkoms and raykoms and the ispolkoms of the local soviets to eliminate those shortcomings that were mentioned today and to achieve the eradication of the causes of accidents and injuries.

Those who spoke during the discussion period after the report were N. I. Skripnikov, Secretary of the Lithuanian CP Kaunas gorkom; B. A. Sheshplaukis, LiSSR Minister of Construction; Yu. M. Bernotas, Chairman of the LiSSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision; I. I. Andrianov, Secretary of the Lithuanian Republic Council of Trade Unions; I. A. Grinyavichyus, administration chief, State Motor Vehicles Inspectorate, LiSSR MVD; and B. A. Lubis, director of the Azot Production Association in Ionava.

The meeting of the party and economic aktiv adopted a resolution dealing with the question that was discussed.

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### TURKMEN BURO CRITICIZES COTTON HARVEST WORK

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 3 Dec 86 p 1

[Article: "In the Buro of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee"; first paragraph is TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA introduction]

[Excerpts] The Buro of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee examined the issue "On the Results of the Cotton Procurement Campaign of 1986 and Tasks of the Republic's Party, Soviet and Economic Organs Associated with Correcting Serious Shortcomings in Fulfillment of Plans and Pledges in Cotton Growing" in its regular meeting held on 27 November.

A decision adopted by the Buro points out that the plans and pledges for procurement of raw cotton in the current year were not fulfilled as a result of serious shortcomings and omissions in the work of the republic's party, soviet and economic organs. While the plan called for 1,260,000 tons, 1,132,000 tons were actually harvested.

The main reason why this situation came into being, the resolution notes, is that the oblast and rayon party committees were unable to effect a major change in the unwanted psychology and thinking of the personnel that had evolved over the years, to dismantle completely all that is obsolete, and to achieve fundamental reconstruction of the forms and methods of the work of all units of the agroindustrial complex in light of the party's new requirements.

Many executives of party, soviet and economic organs, kolkhozes and sovkhozes did not understand the nature of the restructuring occurring in the country; they continued to work by previous standards, and they were unable to improve the use of irrigated land, mineral fertilizers and equipment, establish crop rotation and introduce the accomplishments of science, advanced skills and progressive procedures into cotton growing.

The Turkmen SSR Gosagroprom and its local organs did not take steps to halt and eradicate gross violations of planning and production discipline, and of the deadlines and in quality in the entire complex of agricultural operations.

As in previous years, this year many of the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes used primitive cotton growing procedures, cotton fields were neglected, they were too thin, and they were infested by weeds. The faulty practice of late

irrigation, pruning and defoliation of cotton has not been eradicated: on the contrary it has become even more widespread. All of this resulted in unjustified yield losses. It was noted at the Buro of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee that one of the reasons for failure of the raw cotton procurement plan was the lingering tendency of many rayon and farm directors to increase production by enlarging the plantation area, which generated indifference, self-satisfaction and carelessness. Despite the many warnings of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee, cases of unreported cotton plantations have not been completely eliminated locally. This harmful practice has become an acute problem, and it requires harsh action by the party.

Despite water shortages, the Gosagroprom, the Turkmen SSR Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Resources, the Glavkarakumstroy Trust and their local organs are not doing their part to ensure unquestioning observance of water discipline and implementation of measures to make sensible and economical use of water, to reduce its losses in irrigation systems and to raise the effectiveness of drainage networks. As before, the quality of leaching operations, of water accumulation and of irrigation during the vegetative period was unsatisfactory at many farms, especially in Mary and Ashkhabad oblasts.

The Turkmen SSR Gosagroprom, the party oblast committees and the oblast executive committees failed to implement exhaustive organizational and economic measures to insure that all raw cotton would be harvested quickly and without losses. Because supervision was weak and because heavy demands were not made on the engineering and technical service for organizing repairs, a large quantity of the harvesting equipment was not prepared for work, and in Mary Oblast around 2,000 cotton harvesters were entered into the books as being ready for operation in order to create the appearance that everything was all right. Many farms failed to organize adequate maintenance of the machinery, or to supply enough operators for two-shift work, as a consequence of which cotton harvesting combines were down for large periods of time for technical and various organizational reasons.

It was noted at the Buro that on several occasions the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee pointed out the need for raising the level of mechanized harvesting, the need for mobilizing the able-bodied rural population for the harvest, and the impermissibility of using students for the work. However, many rayon party committees, rayon executive committees, oblast party committees and oblast executive committees failed to reach the correct conclusions from this; they lacked the ability, firmness and consistency to solve this important problem, and as a consequence they continued to rely on the labor of secondary school and university students, which requires the strictest condemnation.

The resolution notes that an especially unsatisfactory cotton growing situation has evolved in Mary Oblast, which completed its plan by 81.5 percent, including 70.9 percent for thin-staple varieties. Only four out of ten of the oblast's rayons and only 20 out of the 124 farms completed their raw cotton procurement plan. Just Vekil-Bazarskiy and Maryyskiy rayons alone fell short by over 37,000 tons of raw cotton in their deliveries to the state.

Comrades A. Sh. Orazmamedov and R. Dolyyev, rayon party committee secretaries, are chiefly at fault for this. Instead of organizing efforts to mobilize the labor collectives to fulfill the plans and pledges for harvesting raw cotton, they busied themselves with numerous conferences and meetings, during the day they tried to visit all of the farm fields at the expense of individual work in the collectives and at the places where the people lived, and they gave unjustified orders, going against specialists and executives in their decisions on economic issues.

The cotton growing situation has worsened in Tashauz Oblast, where they were unable to surmount the difficulties brought about by the water shortage by properly organizing efforts to care for the crops and gather the harvest. Only two rayons in the oblast fulfilled the plan. In the rest of the rayons, especially in Telmanskiy Rayon (Comrade A. Khallyyev, rayon party committee secretary), they were unable to fulfill the plan for procurement of raw cotton due to poor leadership and weakening of control over the state of affairs in cotton growing, despite the possibilities for doing so.

The Chardzhou Oblast party committee and the oblast executive committee (comrades R. Khudayberdiyev and N. Achilov) weakened their control over the state of affairs in cotton growing in the oblast's southern rayons, and they condoned violations of agricultural practices, and late and poor quality cotton chopping and defoliation. There were an especially large number of violations of production discipline in Kerkinskiy Rayon, but rayon party committee secretary Comrade N. I. Kerimov maintained a conciliatory attitude toward them and tried to correct the situation through general appeals, without clear and justified analysis and without the recommendations of specialists.

The fact that in recent years the party committees weakened their efforts to reinforce the administrations of the farms, departments and brigades with more experienced specialists is extremely intolerable, and the faulty practice of belittling their role and ignoring their input into the solution of economic problems created an atmosphere of passiveness and lack of initiative. It reduced the responsibility of personnel for assigned work, and it did irreversible harm to the development of cotton growing. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes have belittled the role of the human factor, the requirements of social justice and concern for the needs of rural laborers. A broad, relentless struggle against unearned income, parasitism, violations of labor discipline, mismanagement and waste has not been initiated, and no steps are being taken to introduce khozraschet and collective and family work orders into the farms.

The decision of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee emphasized that oblast and rayon party committees did little to solve the problem of getting rural laborers to work harder, and of strengthening responsibility, organization and order in all areas of production. They failed to take adequate steps to raise the role and effectiveness of primary party organizations in the effort to mobilize labor collectives to solve the important problems of raising the effectiveness of cotton growing and fulfilling the plans and pledges for procurement of raw cotton.

Party, soviet and economic organs, primary party organizations and kolkhoz and sovkhoz directors are encouraged to make the necessary conclusions from the lessons of 1986, to reveal the roots, the true causes of the failure by critically analyzing the state of affairs in every rayon, farm, department and brigade, to write up a specific program of action, to initiate a relentless struggle against existing shortcomings and major omissions in cotton growing, and to develop and implement measures to make up for the shortfall in raw cotton procurement by as early as 1987.

The Mary, Chardzhou and Tashauz oblast party committees were ordered to examine the question as to whether or not the following personnel, who failed to effect fundamental reconstruction of the agroindustrial complex and whose actions fell short of their promises, were living up to their positions and their party responsibility: Comrade A. Orazmamedov, first secretary of the Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon Party Committee; Comrade R. Dolyyev, first secretary of the Maryyskiy Rayon Party Committee; Comrade N. Kerimov, first secretary of the Kerkinskiy Rayon Party Committee; Comrade A. Khallyyev, first secretary of the Telmanskiy Rayon Party Committee.

The Turkmen SSR Gosagroprom, the Turkmen SSR Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Resources, the Glavkarakumstroy Trust, the oblast and rayon party committees and the oblast and rayon executive committees were ordered to develop and implement specific measures to improve fundamentally the use of irrigated land, material and labor resources, agricultural equipment and crop rotation, and to take immediate, specific steps to initiate a major effort in fall and winter preparations for the next year's harvest. They must establish rigid control over the course and quality of the harvesting of cotton stems, of plowing and leveling the land, and of preparing it for leaching operations. They must make a principled party assessment of cases of disorganization and lack of discipline in this effort. They must raise the effectiveness of all efforts in every kolkhoz and sovkhoz to introduce and improve cost-accounting methods and the use of brigade work orders, and they must eradicate violations of planning, production and labor discipline, mismanagement and waste with growing determination.

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## MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

### UZBEK EMIGRE DECRIMES LIFE IN WEST

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN ATI in Uzbek on 24 October 1986 carries on page 7 an 800-word item by A. Luqmonov and D. Yusupov, officials of the Uzbek Homeland Society, entitled "Happiness Is in the Homeland" in which they print a letter from Ismoil Minhoj, an Uzbek who lives in West Germany. Minhoj writes of his nostalgia for his homeland and comments on emigres who once held important positions in their own countries and today are forced to wash dishes or clean bathrooms abroad. He claims that American and other bourgeois propagandists attempt to dupe the gullible into believing that the United States is a paradise. After living many years abroad Minhoj is convinced that Uzbekistan, which once lagged 300 years behind the rest of the world, has become under the Soviet Government the most progressive, prosperous, and enlightened land in the world.

Minhoj writes of his impressions of life abroad. Education in capitalist countries depends entirely on money, which is needed to gain admittance to colleges. That is why only the children of the rich are educated. Medical treatment abroad costs huge sums, and anyone without money cannot get through a hospital's doors. It costs \$800 a day to stay in a U.S. hospital and DM500 in a West German hospital. The employment situation is dismaying. In England there are 3.5 million unemployed, in West Germany close to 3 million, and in the U.S. close to 13 million. If the number of those who work only 2-3 days a week is included this figure reaches 22 million. There are countless beggars and homeless in the streets in capitalist countries, 40 million in the United States alone, including teachers, doctors, engineers, and scholars.

The authors comment that there may be errors in the figures cited by Minhoj because he has gathered them from the foreign press, but nonetheless this letter portrays the truth about capitalism.

### UZBEK COMMENTARY ON TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM DRA

#### Returning Troops Welcomed

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 24 October 1986 carries on page 4 a 400-word article from UzTAG entitled "Performing Their Internationalist Duty" which reports that one of the six regiments of Soviet

troops withdrawn from Afghanistan passed through the city of Termez where they were greeted by thousands of Termezians, as well as many guests from Moscow, Tashkent, and neighboring Tajikistan. The regiment of motorized riflemen performed honorably as part of the Soviet contingent of troops helping the fraternal Afghan people defend the successes of the April Revolution. They protected numerous Afghan children, women, and elderly from the assaults of Basmachi gangs and thereby earned the gratitude and affection of the people. Many of the soldiers wore military orders and medals and several wore medals of the DRA.

#### 'Imperialist Propaganda' Criticized

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 31 October 1986 carries on page 2 a 700-word commentary by O. Nazarov entitled "Loyalty to Their Internationalist Duty" in which he discusses the withdrawal of several regiments of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The return of regiments comprising 8,000 men to the Turkestan and Central Asian Military Districts is cited as visible proof of the gradually-improving political situation in Afghanistan.

Nazarov claims that recently, most military operations against counter-revolutionary bands have been carried out by the DRA Armed Forces. Today the Afghan Army has sufficient military power and has proved this in combat. In 1985 alone, together with the police and security forces, the army routed nearly 200 enemy bands consisting of over 30,000 Basmachis. The army's ability fully to supervise the situation lies in the policies pursued by the government which have broadened the social base of the April Revolution. As a result of its measures 3,000 people have laid down their arms and passed over to the government's side in the last 4 months. Currently, the government is holding talks with 92 bands consisting of nearly 6,000 people.

According to the author, international imperialism, particularly the United States, is trying to disparage the positive steps taken by the Soviet Union. Recently U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger stated that the Soviet withdrawal of six regiments is insignificant because the Soviet Union had already, without announcing it, sent additional regiments prior to that. People who know there are modern means of detecting such military movements know that the secretary's statement is nothing but prevarication. No matter how much imperialist propagandists foam at the mouth, the Soviet Union's assistance to Afghanistan will be written eternally in the pages of history as an example of conscientiously fulfilled internationalist duty.

#### UZBEK POET LAUDS SOVIET ASSISTANCE TO DRA

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN ATI in Uzbek on 24 October 1986 carries on page 1 a 400-word article by Abdulla Oripov, poet and deputy chairman of the Uzbek Writer's Union, entitled "Fortune Is Smiling" in which he comments that the stationing of a limited contingent

of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is one of the most important events in the world today and has enormous significance under peacetime conditions. He notes that these troops along with Afghan youths, protect the grave of Alisher Navoi, founder of classical Uzbek literature.

Oripov states that it is no secret that enemies of the revolution have destroyed a number of ancient mosques, tombs, and schools, and do not shrink from any evil deed. They have even crippled Afghan children by exploding bombs where they play. In the history of mankind progress has always been accompanied by hardship and sacrifice. Soviet soldiers are the selfless helpers of the Afghan people in their struggle to be free of despotic regimes and are fulfilling their internationalist duty honorably.

#### UZBEK PUBLISHING OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN ATI in Uzbek on 3 October 1986 carries on page 5 a 2,200-word newspaper interview with Bobojon Sharipov, chief editor at the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, entitled "You Would Like To See More Good Books" in which he comments on hundreds of complaints reaching the newspaper about the poor quality of books published in the republic. While publishing houses are upgrading their technology to improve the polygraphic aspects of publishing, the state committee is taking steps to improve reviewing and editing procedures, rebuild thematic plans, and retrain workers. Sharipov acknowledges that most mass political literature remains unsold in stores and attributes this to the hesitancy of authors to deal with pressing issues and negative trends. Such literature all too frequently looks only at the bright side and thus fails to educate the reader in a realistic way.

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## HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

### SOVIET TEXTBOOKS PROVIDE 'CRIPPLED PICTURE' OF RUSSIAN HISTORY

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 2, 18-25 Jan 87 pp 8, 9

[Article by Yuri Afanasyev]

[Text]

#### INTELLECT AND TALENT NEEDED

What is the best way of coming to understand the present with the help of the past, and the past with the help of the present? Life is taking such a turn where it is vitally important for us, professors and lecturers, to ponder these questions again so as to learn to teach new generations of Soviet people to think and act in a new way.

This is an exceptionally dramatic task, especially considering that stagnation phenomena have been stockpiled of late in the higher school, as it was pointed out at a recent All-Union Conference of Heads of Social Sciences Chairs.

I am a historian, which is why I shall try to demonstrate this, using the material from the area of knowledge that is the closest to me. I shall leave aside the enumeration of achievements. Of course, we have had and still have brilliant humanitarians, there are successfully functioning sectors and chairs, very good books are sometimes published, and so on. But nevertheless I would primarily use the

word stagnant to characterize the state of domestic historical science which in many respects is lagging behind the present-day world level. I, as a man who has devoted 20 years now to studying non-Marxist historiography, cannot afford not to make comparative evaluations, though it's a risky undertaking, you know.

There exists the unquestionably asserted view that our social science cannot in any respect be lagging behind the non-Marxist, bourgeois

one. And inasmuch as in our country any, say, historian already by the right of his having been born in the Soviet land, in the higher education cradle is recognized as "Marxist" and no one else, it appears thereby that any book we publish is not only methodologically but also in its main contents higher than the books published "by them". Machine tools and footwear not necessarily, but humanitarian research studies already at the stage of their conception kind of acquire a Marxist-Leninist quality seal. Alas! In real life everything is much more complicated. After all, to learn by rote, like a verse, something about "law-governed change of socio-economic formations", and so on and so

forth, and even the thesis that "Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action", does not yet mean to be a Marxist. This, as we know, calls for hard work, intellectual courage and subtlety, scientific talent and fresh ideas and approaches that have not yet been tested by anyone (except logic and facts). In short, there is a need for enormous efforts to be up to the lofty name of a Marxist historian of the late 20th century.

Many important sections in the field of historical science have in effect been fading away, whole epochs have not been covered by research studies, and sometimes we have one or two specialists for whole centuries and countries. The social mission and the vast possibilities for building up historical knowledge are realized on a very small scale in our country.

#### THE MOST INTERESTING AND CAPTIVATING

It has to be admitted that in our country, the land of the October Revolution, many problems bearing

on the historical experience of winning power by the Russian proletariat, defence of the Revolution, and socialist construction are yet to be studied. I would like to dwell on this question in greater detail in these first days of the incipient jubilee year, bearing in mind Lenin's behests on this score: attention must be focussed on questions that are yet to be solved. The scientific studies of the history of the October Revolution, the teaching of these problems, and the new way of posing them are called upon to refresh the atmosphere at the higher school. It is on these problems that we should set up a "zone of high intellectual tension" first and foremost.

In the past one and a half or two decades the impulse given by the Party decisions of 1956-1961 began to run low and damp down, and a decline set in in studying the history of the October Revolution.

This was due to many reasons. I shall point out two of them: methodological and social.

It will be recalled that in the mid-1960s we started extensive studies and discussion of the problems involved in the methodology of history: interesting books were published, pointed articles appeared on these problems, and a discussion was resumed on the so-called Asian method of production. Historians and philosophers turned to the richest arsenal of Marx, Engels and Lenin, whose historic-methodological concept became a subject of serious study. It stands to reason that not everything in the publications of that

time was impeccable, mistakes were also made, there were also cases when some statements by the participants in the discussion were declared fallacious or even "un-Marxist" through misunderstanding (or, rather, simply through lack of knowledge). In those conditions the elaboration of the methodological problems of history had to be continued with even greater intensity – instead, however, it was simply discontinued by forcible intervention.

Once again the servile cowardice of bureaucrats from science made itself felt. The point is that in the course of the discussions historians began to show that world history was much more complicated, diversified and variegated than it was customarily presented in our standard textbooks on history and philosophy, and even in some "learned" works written after the well-known, schematism-ridden "five-member" scheme of the historical process rooted in Stalin's work *On Dialectical and Historical Materialism*. The bureaucrats began to worry – after all, they could not allow a scheme to be broken. And the search for the truth was discontinued.

The methodological quests that unfolded in the latter half of the 1960s and the early 1970s also touched on the historiography of the October Revolution. Historians began, for example, to pay more attention to the objective assessment given by Lenin to Russia's development by the moment of the Socialist Revolution. There is no need to speak in detail about the special importance – methodological and practical – of this

problem. After all, it was very difficult to build socialism in Russia, the most backward among the major capitalist countries. Until the early 1970s historians still managed to stick to this position. However, the attempt that was made to approach the posing, clarification and then investigation of these questions, notably on the basis of the problem of multiplicity of economic forms, was artificially cut short here as well. From that moment on it was believed that the character of socio-economic development prior to the October Revolution belonged to the questions that were "solved by science", so that any disputes on that score were out of place. As a result, our historiography still has no considerable work enlarging upon Lenin's thesis that "while the development of world history as a whole follows general laws, it is by no means precluded, but, on the contrary, presumed, that certain periods of development may display peculiarities in either the form or the sequence of this development".

Placed on the agenda therefore is the problem of peculiarities in the type of Russia's capitalist evolution in comparison with the sequence in which the capitalist formation was shaped up in countries of the first echelon of bourgeois development. The task facing researchers, as we see, has been considerably compounded. But the game is worth the candle. We have long been speaking about a party of the new type that first appeared in our country, about the new type of bourgeois-democratic revolution, and about the peculiarity of the processes in contemporary developing countries. Having elaborated the problem of capitalist evolution in Russia, we could get a deeper insight into the problem of the general and the particular in world history, and on this basis also draw more

realistic practical conclusions.

The second reason of the stagnation should be seen in the effects of the old, compressed stratifications which weighed heavily on researcher thought since the 1930s.

This was facilitated by the situation when we felt the reassuring effect of broader notions not only about the state of our science, but also about the current phase of society's development, in which, as it followed from "theoretical" generalizations, no room was left for fundamental contradictions, ideological antagonisms and serious contrasts. This is what actually happened on the surface, but going on in the depth were processes, that later gave grounds for a bitter, alarming conclusion: we have a poor knowledge of the society we live in.

Our biggest theoretical (and practical) mistake perhaps was that we at times forgot about the revolutionary (and hence inevitably extremely difficult, danger-filled and, if you like, excruciating, sometimes tragic) character of the path we had dared to follow. There grew up the unpublicized conviction that once we had taken a place on the rails and received the initial world-historical impulse, in the future our system would roll smoothly from achievement to achievement, from one victorious stage to another, from good to better. As if this does not call for the greatest strain of efforts, flexibility and self-denial, as if the "demonic force of ignorance", inertness and self-interest had already disappeared among particular individuals and groups of the population.

After the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee we have had to think anew over the notion of "existing" or "real" socialism – in the shape it is now being used by our philosophers and propagandists. This amounted to a veritably

intellectual and essentially revolutionary endeavour. And this, in its turn, called for reviving our hopes, our labour efficiency and our ability to be true to ideals. The question is, of course, not about verbal and parades-like "ideals", not about toadism or the appointment of exact deadlines of universal happiness, but about the ideal of sober-minded people who are fully aware of their own imperfections, of all the immense difficulties of the path which we re-embark upon, and the sources and springs of inertness.

It may seem that this entire very near contemporaneity is far removed from the traditional concerns of the servants of Clio. But this is not so! The thought stereotypes about the present-day state of our society, moulded under the keynote of an exuberant report-and-bureaucrat optimism, have brought and, alas, still continue to bring an inverse pressure to bear on our historical studies. The pulsation of past life was hardly felt in them, and from an instrument of knowledge history began to turn into a servant of the lopsided "propaganda of success", into apology for whatever had already been achieved. In this shape it certainly cannot assist in the great cause of our society's restructuring.

It is easy to see this, opening, for instance, any of the latest standard textbooks on the history of the CPSU. These textbooks are a peculiar "mirror" of our science on the Party's history.

They have been written by large bodies of authors and not everything in them is of equal value. But on the whole these outwardly solid, stately publications are written lifelessly, dryly and monotonously. Mikhail Gorbachev's words, which, I believe, have a direct bearing on these textbooks as well, sounded as a bitter but fully justified reproach to all of us:

"A paradoxical picture has taken shape: the most interesting and thrilling in scientific cognition today – the individual and society – the laws governing human development, the contradictions, the struggle of classes, the building of a new world, the aspiration of humanity to the ideal, the spiritual quests and disillusionments, the gaining of the truth and the heroism of labour creativity are all made quite often – in lectures and in textbooks, too – to be something boring, official and formal."

The textbooks present a one-sided, crippled picture of many events in the actual history of the CPSU, while they pass over many other things simply in silence. They have still not overcome, and sometimes directly reproduce, Stalin's scheme of the victory of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the USSR — a scheme that is far from the truth.

## EDUCATE BY THE TRUTH

Take at least the question of Lenin's last letters and articles as they are presented in some of our textbooks.

A sufficient number of pages is devoted to the summary of the last letters and articles. But only one or two actually deal with Lenin's plan. The rest is stuffed with cut-and-dried banalities about the epoch of humankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, the beginning of a "world revolution", the outlook for a transition to socialism bypassing capitalism, about the main contradiction of the epoch, and so on and so forth — that is, the things Lenin said nothing about (with few exceptions) in his "testament". The integrity and structure of Lenin's plan are not shown. Even less

fortunate are the characteristics which Lenin gave in his last letters to the leading members of the Central Committee. They are divorced from the presentation of his plan and shifted into the section telling about the 12th Congress of the RCP(B). They are quoted one-sidedly, with all positive characteristics addressed to would-be opposition members having been deleted and only the negative ones having been left.

Can all of this awaken a young person's keenness of mind and charge him with that energy of historical knowledge which is so necessary today for our society's comprehensive renewal? Of course not. The poor student who comes under the barrage of Stalin's definitions — "variety of Menshevism", "Menshevik deviation", "anti-revolutionary group", "agents of the kulak class", and so on — has to expend his intellectual capabilities mainly on learning labels by rote. On the other hand, he is not in a position to get down to the essence of theoretical disputes and concepts in building socialism or to compare the road of socialism in the USSR with that of building socialism in other countries. Here's truly where we have not the branchy tree of life, but a planed telegraph post! But given high-quality, honest and profound presentation of the material, this history can and must evoke a feeling of the deepest interest.

\* \* \*

The spring that set in in our society in April 1985 is felt in every sphere of life. Historians, too, are awakening from their slumbers — regrettably, too slowly so far. But according to the laws of nature, a spring is an inexorable phenomenon, whereas the spring of socialist creativity is not something transient.

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## RELIGION

### UZBEK HOLY SITE INVESTIGATED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN ATI in Uzbek on 31 October 1986 carries on pages 5 and 8 a 2,900-word article by Doctor of History Abdulahad Muhammadjonov entitled "The Secrets of Bandikushod-Ota" in which he discusses the Bandikushod-Ota holy site located on Bagizagan Sovkhoz in Samarkand Rayon. In January 1986 M. Jumayev, former deputy chairman of the rayispolkom, requested that Dr Muhammadjonov of the Archeology Institute investigate the site, which had become the focus of numerous pilgrimages in recent years.

Scholars gathered ethnographic data from local inhabitants, including several variants of a legend about Bandikushod-Ota, the reputed saint buried at the site. According to the legend, during the Timurid Sultanate an enemy attacked Samarkand, captured many of its people, and put them in chains as slaves. Along the road their chains were suddenly loosed and they were freed. During the ensuing fight with their captors one of them was killed and buried at the site. According to this legend he was a saint who freed the slaves from their chains. Bandikushod means "Who Frees God's Creatures."

The recent history of the site was clarified in talks with Istam Shukurova, who served as the first false shaykh (guardian of a holy site). According to her account, she was ill in the oblast hospital in 1964 when four old women visited her and told her about the miraculous cures of Bandikushod-Ota. With the old women she made a pilgrimage to the site and felt much better. Subsequently, she cleaned up and tended the grounds with her husband and began to receive small gratuities and chicken from pilgrims. The number of pilgrims began to increase and the kopeks turned into rubles and the chickens into sheep, and in this way Shukurova became the first false shaykh. To enlarge the attraction she proclaimed a nearby mound to be the grave of Bibimushkul-Kushod in 1970, despite the fact that this mound contained the graves of Abduraim, a butcher who died in the 1920's, and Raim, a farmer who died in the war years. Nonetheless pilgrims began to flock to the site of the two saints, seeking a cure for every sort of illness.

A decade later farm leaders approved the idea of brigadier Rahmat Ahmedov to clear one hectare of the farm's territory for pilgrimages, provide water, and build a minaret-like structure over the mausoleum. All of the

materials and labor were donated by various people. The village soviet appointed Suvan Saidov as shaykh of the site, and thus arose a dispute between that group and Shukurova. Supporters of the latter wrote a complaint to the oblast financial department asking that it halt publicly sponsored improvements to the site. The Bagizagan Village Soviet intervened in the dispute. It formed a "board of shaykhs" consisting of 13 people to act as guardians and appointed Yahyo Zikirov as chief shaykh. Under his leadership order was established. The new shaykhs each took shifts on pilgrimage days and each received shares of the donations.

In 1982-1983 Bandikushod-Ota began to charm even medical personnel at the village hospital. Some of them began to send patients to the nearby site to take advantage of its miraculous properties. Not only are nurses at the hospital reportedly disposed toward such superstitions, but Doctor Ashurali Pattayev of the hospital serves on the "board of shaykhs." As recently as 12 February, patients were still being sent to the site, and one young woman was observed walking around the grave with her baby held in the air on the advice of personnel at Taylak Maternity Hospital as a cure for colic.

#### UZBEKS MUST IMPROVE ATHEISTIC EDUCATION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKİSTONI in Uzbek on 11 October 1986 carries on page 1 a 900-word lead editorial entitled "Scientific World View" which states that many party committees and primary party organizations still have not begun to employ productive means of ideologically tempering cadres, and the republic chapter of the Znaniye Society has not been effective in instilling a scientific world view and Marxist-Leninist ideals in the minds of workers. Decisions adopted in the area of improving atheistic education are not being carried out by party, soviet, and Komsomol organizations, and the mass media. The Andizhan, Bukhara, Karakalpak, Namangan, and Tashkent Obkoms have been especially slack in increasing the fight against the influence of Islam and introducing new and progressive customs.

As ideological conflicts between the socialist and bourgeois world views increase so does the importance of instilling the scientific, communist world view in Soviet youth. Through various goods, films, fashions, and music, class adversaries try to create a thirst for consumerism, affluence, parasitism, and Western culture in indecisive, weak-willed people. The editorial concludes that under such conditions, every available means must be used to wage a concrete and convincing fight against bourgeois propaganda.

#### UZBEK WRITER URGES IMPROVED ATHEISTIC EDUCATION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKİSTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN ATI in Uzbek on 10 October 1986 carries on page 1 a 700-word article by Uygun, Uzbek

People's Poet and chairman of the Uzbek Theatrical Society, entitled "Restructuring Must Be Stronger" in which he points out that solving economic and social problems depends on increasing atheistic education and eradicating vestiges of the past. Unfortunately, this work is unsatisfactory. The fight against the disease of religion is still weak in many places. Lecturers think their work is finished when they shout the slogan "There is no God." Party organizations are not sufficiently activist and creative unions have not motivated artists to create works that expose religion. He notes that the time has come to correct such deficiencies and to realize that the fight is not only against believers but also against religion itself.

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CULTURE

LENIN'S TEACHING ON NATIONAL CULTURE ELABORATED

PM151130 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Vasiliy Novikov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "V.I. Lenin and the Cultural Heritage--passages between slantlines are printed in italics"]

[Text] Lenin's remarks on the cultural heritage have been well studied in the Soviet study of literature. It does not follow, however, that one of the most important topics of literary studies is entirely exhausted or that there is no need for its further study in depth. But it goes without saying that this further study presupposes true, unswerving adherence to scientific Marxist-Leninist methodology.

The cultural heritage interested Lenin as a manifestation of a nation's creative capacities and one of the motive forces for historical progress. The sense of national pride was never alien to Lenin, and at the same time he was the supreme internationalist.

Lenin's genius lies in the fact that together with the laws of economic development, he discovered special laws of his own governing the development of the new, socialist art in the era of revolutionary changes and renewals, and demonstrated in theory and practice the role of the cultural heritage in the development of the new art.

It would be a mistake to suppose that Lenin approached questions of culture and problems of the heritage only as individual cases, changing his view according to the situation, and that he had no integrated, consistent system of views in this sphere. It is another matter that the development of the revolutionary movement posed new tasks at every stage for Lenin as the party's thinker and leader. Thus in 1913, when a debate sprang up in the party over the elaboration of a program on the nationalities question, including questions relating to national culture, Lenin took part in this debate and expounded an integrated teaching on the nationalities question and national culture.

Lenin's teaching on the two cultures within every national culture was formulated at a time when the socialist revolution was maturing, and it drew energy from that revolution. It was oriented not only against the

chauvinism of people like Purishkevich [Russian monarchist, anti-Semite, member of Black Hundred] and Struve [leader of "legal Marxists," later of Constitutional Democrats], but also against bourgeois democratic illusions about the common national culture which is supposed to exist under conditions of capitalism. The supporters of the Bund [Jewish Social Democratic Party], in particular Liebmann, sought to imbue their works with these illusions and thus conceal their theoretical errors.

Lenin showed that the members of the Bund defended their nationalism with demagogic arguments about national culture, forgetting about its class content under capitalism. Lenin took into account the complex dialectics of the interaction and interdependence of national form and national content in each culture, depending on the correlation of classes and the social development of nations. The class proletarian approach to culture and its content was here the main, decisive approach for Lenin.

Liebmann, on the contrary, did not take into account the dynamics of national form and content in national culture. In effect he called for a nonnational [innatsionalnyy], basically cosmopolitan culture, which is preached today by the American supporters of the so-called postindustrial society.

In a footnote to his article "Critical Observations on the Nationalities Question," Lenin provided a very important explanation: "Inter--between; non--not; international--between nations, between peoples; nonnational--not national, not of the people, unrelated to the nation or people." ["Inter--mezhdu; in--ne; internatsionalnyy--mezhdunatsionalnyy, mezhdunarodnyy; innatsionalnyy--nenatsionalnyy, nenarodnyy, beznatsionalnyy, beznarodnyy"] In effect, Lenin observed in 1913 that the supporters of nonnational culture emasculate it of its popular, national content.

Noting this, Lenin gives a classic definition of the two cultures within every national culture: "No, dear Bundist, international culture is not unrelated to the national [beznatsionalnyy]. Nobody said that. Nobody proclaimed the Polish culture, or the Jewish culture, or the Russian culture, or any other to be a 'pure' culture..."

"In /every/ national culture there are /elements/, albeit undeveloped, of democratic and socialist culture, since in /every/ nation there are the working masses, the exploited masses, whose living conditions inevitably engender democratic and socialist ideology. But in /every/ nation there is also bourgeois culture (and in most there is also Black Hundred and clericalist culture)--and not only in the form of 'elements,' but in the form of the /dominant/ culture. Therefore 'national culture' in general 'is/ the culture of the landowners, the priests, the bourgeoisie. The Bundist concealed this basic truth, elementary for a Marxist and 'spouted' his own collection of verbiage, that is, in effect, /instead/ of revealing and explaining the class abyss, he obscured it for the reader. /In effect/ the Bundist spoke like a bourgeois whose sole interest is to disseminate the belief in a classless national culture."

Raising in this context the question of the significance of the heritage for the development of socialist culture, Lenin points out with the utmost precision: "...We take /from each/ national culture /only/ its democratic and its socialist elements, we take them /only/ and /unconditionally/ as a counterweight to the bourgeois culture and bourgeois nationalism of /each/ nation."

It should be said that many works by eminent Soviet scholars demonstrate with much factual material the unfading significance of Lenin's teaching on the two cultures. It is the true key to an understanding of the highly complex processes of interaction and development of Soviet multinational culture and comprehension of its laws.

All this seems clear. But a tendency has emerged recently to put a different interpretation on Lenin's teaching on the two cultures and the role of the cultural heritage. This tendency was manifested, in particular, in V. Kozhinov's article "Lessons of History" [MOSKVA, No 11, 1986].

This article rightly says that in the postrevolutionary years people zealous to overthrow everything old, "justifying" themselves with the Trotskyists' extremist slogans about building a new culture, did great damage to our cultural heritage, contrary to Lenin's behests. It is also true that the party is tirelessly concerned to ensure a solicitous attitude toward the cultural assets of the past, and this is particularly marked today. I entirely agree with this formulation of the problem in V. Kozhinov's article.

But the article also includes propositions which demand decisive refutation. First and foremost, there is the interpretation of Lenin's principled remarks on the cultural heritage.

V. Kozhinov believes that Lenin took one position on this question before the revolution, and another after it: "V.I. Lenin tackles the question in a completely different way in 1919..." What evidence does V. Kozhinov cite? There is only one quotation from Lenin's works to this end, from the article "Successes and Difficulties of Soviet Power." Here it is; "It is necessary to take the entire culture left by capitalism, and to build socialism from it. It is necessary to take all the science and technology, all the knowledge and art. Otherwise we cannot build the life of the communist society... If in Russia... there were no... organization capable of rallying the masses of working people and instilling into them, explaining to them, convincing them of the importance of the task of taking the /entire bourgeois culture for ourselves/, then the cause of communism would be hopeless" (V. Kozhinov's italics).

Let us go back to the original source. Let us approach it historically. What is Lenin discussing at this point in the work cited by V. Kozhinov? He is discussing the utilization of bourgeois specialists, who possess knowledge, experience, culture, the art of organizing labor in large-scale production. The country is beset by ruin, hunger, poverty; the plants and factories are idle. How can production be organized? And Lenin raises the urgent question of bringing in the old bourgeois specialists. He says:

"...There are specialists in science and technology who are utterly permeated with the bourgeois world outlook, there are military specialists educated under bourgeois conditions... As for the national economy, all the agronomists, engineers, teachers--they were all taken from the propertied class... capitalism provides culture only for the minority. But we must build socialism out of that culture. We have no other material to work with. We want to build socialism rapidly from the material which capitalism left us from the past... We have bourgeois specialists, and that is all there is to it. We have no other bricks, nothing to build with..."

"And if you do not build a communist society from this material, you are empty phrasemongers and idle talkers."

To use scientific language, Lenin's work was discussing the utilization of the achievements of science and technology which exist, as Lenin says, in the heads of bourgeois specialists. Lunacharskiy testifies that Lenin "stressed most emphatically that it would have been far easier for us to struggle and to build if we had inherited a more developed bourgeois culture after the overthrow of the monarchy and the ruling classes." That was not the case. And Lenin tackles the question of how to combine the victorious development of the revolution with the achievements of bourgeois culture, which were the property of the few; how to use bourgeois specialists, who have the knowledge and the experience of organizing labor in large-scale production. It is in this sense that Lenin says that "it is necessary to take the entire bourgeois culture," all the "science and technology, all the knowledge and art." Otherwise we cannot build the life of the communist society.

V. Kozhinov takes Lenin's concrete propositions on the concrete tasks of a revolutionary time, when the question being tackled was that of how to obtain a pound of coal or a pound of iron and how to make the factories and plants work, and translates them onto another plane. He forgets the tumultuous revolutionary times. And in his article he talks not about the utilization of bourgeois specialists and their knowledge and culture (without which it was impossible to organize work at a large plant), but about culture in general, and draws the conclusion: "Thus whereas in 1913 V.I. Lenin insists that it is necessary to take from the national culture of the capitalist society /only/ the 'embryonic' democratic and socialist elements which have managed to develop within that society, in 1919 he speaks of the definite need to 'take everything /of value/ that exists in capitalism,' to 'take the entire bourgeois /culture/ '-- otherwise the cause of communism will prove hopeless."

V. Kozhinov, intentionally or otherwise, basically denies Lenin's consistency in tackling dialectically complex questions, claiming that his views changed according to "the concrete sociopolitical situation." In fact, Lenin's teaching on culture and the cultural heritage should be regarded as a closed system with a solid methodological basis.

By stating in his article that the antihistorical approach and dogmatism in dealing with problems of the cultural heritage have by no means been overcome yet, V. Kozhinov himself loses a sense of historical perspective. This is manifested, for instance, in his polemics with some of the participants in a discussion in the journal VOPROSY LITERATURY (No 9, 1980) of the "Lives of Remarkable People" series of books, who, like I. Dzeverin, for instance, came out resolutely against the tendency of certain authors to "revise" the heritage of the revolutionary democrats. V. Kozhinov tries in vain to call into question the scientifically substantiated opinions of the participants in this discussion.

And how does V. Kozhinov advise us to interpret the class character of a writer? Very simply: He defines class character in terms of a writer's place in the social milieu. That, he says, is what V. Lenin did. By way of example, V. Kozhinov takes his article "In Memory of Herzen" and... distorts it. According to V. Kozhinov, it transpires that Lenin noticed in Herzen only the fact that he "belonged to the landed gentry...he did not see the revolutionary people, and could not believe in them." According to Lenin's definition, in "Herzen's teaching...there is /not a grain of socialism/." And is that all?

Where is the enthusiasm with which Lenin followed Herzen's castigation of the regimes of Biron [favorite of Empress Anna Ivanovna in 1730's, responsible for repressions] and Arakchayev [adviser to Czar Alexander I, regarded as harsh and reactionary]? Where are Herzen's ardent words about the Decembrists (the "phalanx of heroes")? What was Herzen's place in preparing for the Russian revolution, and how did he tackle the key questions of the era--castigating serfdom, combating the vermin monarchy, campaigning for freedom? Where is Herzen's spiritual drama and his greatness as a revolutionary and active participant in the liberation movement in Russia? "He fought for the people's victory over czarism... He raised the banner of the revolution," Lenin wrote.

All this is clean forgotten, lost from the field of view, because V. Kozhinov's concern is not with the man whom Lenin regarded as the direct precursor of Marxism on Russian soil and whom he advised us to follow in building the socialist culture.

Did Lenin renounce, after the October Revolution, his own teaching about the two cultures in each national culture, did he revise it? Nothing of the kind! He developed this teaching. There is much evidence of this. Let us cite the most important. At the Second Comintern Congress Lenin put forward the proposition that backward countries, "with the help of the proletariat of the leading countries," "could make the transition to the soviet system and, via certain stages of development, to communism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development."

Lenin discovered a new law. History has confirmed the significance of Lenin's discovery. Whole Soviet republics, formerly downtrodden by the czarist autocracy, bypassed capitalism and embarked with their own special cultures on the socialist path of development, created great artistic

treasures famous throughout the world, and became equal among equals within the family of peoples of the USSR. Their creative intelligentsia plays an active part in the process of mutual enrichment of the national socialist cultures.

In the theses for his speech at the Second Comintern Congress Lenin insisted on the resolute struggle against nationalism (in all its forms--feudal or bourgeois) and on the need to develop the best traditions in national cultures, and pointed out that only on this basis can the new, socialist culture be developed. Lenin repeated many times that on the question of national traditions it is necessary to be especially sensitive, but under no circumstances to retreat from communist positions.

Our Communist Party is guided by these principles in cultural building. At the 27th CPSU Congress M.S. Gorbachev noted: "Our party's tradition, which comes from Lenin, is one of especial sensitivity and circumspection in everything that concerns nationalities policy or affects the interests of each nation or ethnic group or people's national sensibilities, and at the same time a principled struggle against manifestations of national narrowmindedness and arrogance, nationalism, and chauvinism, whatever garb they may put on."

When the struggle against the "theories" of Proletarian Culture flared up, Lenin (and this has been widely illuminated in special studies) came out resolutely in defense of the heritage. He came out against the nihilistic theories of the Proletarian Culture supporters. It was then that Lenin pointed out that without a mastery of the achievements of all preceding culture, it is impossible to build socialism. Lenin likened the very process of developing a new culture to the process of developing and formulating a worldwide phenomenon like Marxism. In this context I must cite a proposition of Lenin's which is notable for its classical clarity and historical profundity: "Marxism won its worldwide historical significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat by virtue of the fact that Marxism did not by any means discard the most valuable gains of the bourgeois era, but, on the contrary, assimilated and reworked everything of value in more than 2,000 years of development of human thought and culture. Only further work on this basis and in this direction, animated by the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its last struggle against all exploitation, can be deemed the development of a truly proletarian culture."

Lenin's view was forward-looking, and he pointed to the classical model of implementing the great task without forgetting practical goals. For Lenin, thought and action were always in indissoluble unity. As R. Rolland wrote: "Lenin has no illusions! No refuge in illusion! He is characterized by a sense of reality--a mighty, permanent sense of reality which never lets him down."

Lenin had to tackle the most important tasks of not only preserving the monuments of the past, the cultural heritage, but also building a new, socialist culture. And, for the first time in history, to tackle these tasks in practice, when literary work had become a partywide and statewide cause.

CULTURE

LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SOVIET PEOPLES DISCUSSED

Alma-Ata IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKHSKOY SSR: SERIYA OБSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK  
in Russian No 1, 1986 pp 12-17

[Article by M. B. Tatimov: "Linguistic Description of the Peoples of the USSR (Based on Data Provided by the All-Union Population Censuses)"]

[Text] For a number of objective reasons, linguistic communication under conditions of an environment where many nationalities live has the most diverse forms and intensity. The variety of the linguistic situations depends directly upon the mosaic nature of the multinational environment where the communication is being carried out among speakers of various languages.

The study of the linguistic situation in development takes on great importance as a result of the growth of a population that is multinational in makeup, the migrational mobility of that population, and, finally, the expansion of the spiritual communication among people in various languages.

If we refer to the materials in the first general population census of the Russian Empire in 1897, we discover that questions of language and nationality were not asked separately. At that time it was considered that the nationality to which the census respondents belonged and the language that they spoke coincided completely. It was not until the censuses of the Soviet period, beginning in 1920, that separate questions concerning the language and nationality of the respondents were introduced. This makes it possible to study in parallel the linguistic and ethnic processes on the basis of a large amount of completely reliable material. In the most recent all-union population censuses of 1970 and 1979, a new question was introduced: "In what other language of the peoples of the USSR are you fluent?" This provides the opportunity to study not only the bilingualism of the peoples of the USSR, but also simultaneously their multilingualism.

It must be noted that the materials of the population census provide justification for judging the scope to which bilingualism or multilingualism is widespread in the country, which scope is basically linked with the direct communication among people of various nationalities in their everyday life and on the job, that is, it records the development of that process only, as it were, "in breadth." But the information concerning the distribution of the functional roles between the native language and the languages being used

among nationalities and the degree of knowledge both of the native language and of a second language can be obtained only by carrying out special sociological research.

The chief linguistic indicator is the attachment that people have for their native language. Comparative analysis of the materials of the population censuses of 1926, 1939, 1959, 1970, and 1979 provides a clear picture of the change in the linguistic situation in the USSR over a period of more than 50 years (see Table 1). The indicator of the native language of our country's entire population has been, and continues to be, high. A considerable lowering of that indicator is observed only in 1959-1979 (from 943 to 931 persons per 1000 persons).

From the ethnic point of view, attachment to one's native language remains high and stable, especially for Russians. During 1926-1979 it even increased somewhat and reached its maximum level (999 per 1000 persons). That indicator is also high among Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Azerbaijani, Georgians, Tajiks, Lithuanians, Turkmens, and Kirghiz. Its relatively low level among the Ukrainians, Belorussians, Tatars, and Armenians is linked with their dispersed settlement. At the same time there are peoples for whom linguistic assimilation has been proceeding rather rapidly, and this can be traced easily from the results of the population censuses. They include primarily the Germans, Jews, Mordvinians, and Poles. Most of them do not have a national state system on the territory of the USSR and are a nonindigenous population in our country. The same phenomenon can be observed for other nationalities that have a small number of individuals and that were not included by us in Table 1 for that reason. There are peoples whose linguistic indicators rose during 1926-1979. They include the Georgians, Turkmens, Bashkirs, etc.

A new phenomenon in linguistic processes is mass bilingualism. Multilingualism is not only a purely linguistic phenomenon, but also a social and psychological one. Bilingualism is the product of a multinational environment. In the formation of bilingualism, a definite role is played by the family, one's coevals, the kindergarten, the school, the production collective, the army, the courses taken and the higher educational institutions attended by the persons who speak the various languages.

The materials from the two most recent population censuses (1970 and 1979) make it possible to establish the intensity with which bilingualism has spread among the various nationalities of the USSR (Table 2). Under the conditions of our country, the chief form of bilingualism is national-Russian bilingualism, which is the consequence of the reciprocal communication among representatives of the indigenous nationality and the Russian population.

An analysis of the results of the census indicates that bilingualism is spreading among all the Soviet nationalities and this has been occurring rather rapidly. During the nine years of the last period between censuses, that indicator rose to a considerable degree. For example, among persons of non-Russian nationality, the percentage of those speaking Russian as a second language among all peoples increased from 37 to 44 (41.9 million persons in 1970 to 61.3 million persons in 1979). The highest percentage of knowledge of the Russian language is demonstrated by the peoples of the autonomous

Table 1. Indicators of Native Language (Persons Who Consider the Language of Their Nationality to be Their Native Language), per 1000 persons\*

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1926</u>	<u>1939</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
Entire population	943	943	943	939	931
Russians	997	998	998	998	999
Ukrainians	900	880	877	857	828
Uzbeks	991	979	984	986	985
Belorussians	890	871	842	806	742
Kazakhs	996	990	984	980	975
Tatars	989	966	921	892	859
Azerbaijani	938	972	976	982	979
Armenians	924	892	899	914	907
Georgians	965	989	986	984	983
Moldavians	-	-	952	950	932
Tajiks	938	-	971	985	978
Lithuanians	-	-	978	979	979
Turkmens	973	-	983	989	987
Germans	949	-	750	668	570
Kirghiz	990	-	987	988	979
Jews	730	397	208	177	142
Chuvash	987	-	908	869	817
Nationalities of Dagestan	-	-	962	965	959
Latvians	-	-	951	952	950
Bashkirs	538	582	619	662	670
Mordvinians	940	-	781	778	726
Poles	429	-	455	325	291
Estonians	-	-	952	955	953

\* Computed on the basis of data from the results of the following All-Union population censuses: "Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya 1926 goda" [1926 All-Union Population Census], Moscow, 1929-1932, Vols 1-15; "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1959. SSSR: (svodnyy tom)" [Results of the 1959 All-Union Population Census. USSR: (Combined Volume)], Moscow, 1962; "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 g." [Results of the 1970 All-Union Population Census], Moscow, 1973, Vol 4; "Nationalnyy sostav naseleniya SSSR: Naseleniye SSSR: (po dannym Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1979 g.)" [National Composition of the USSR: Population of the USSR: (Based on Data from the 1979 All-Union Population Census)], Moscow, 1980. The list of peoples in all tables was prepared in order of diminishing size as of 1979.

Table 2. Persons Fluent in a Second Language of the Peoples of the USSR,  
Percentage\*

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>In Russian</u>		<u>In other languages</u>	
	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
Entire population	37.0	44.0	4.2	4.7
Russians	90.2	0.1	3.0	3.5
Ukrainians	36.3	49.8	6.0	7.1
Uzbeks	14.5	29.3	3.3	2.8
Belorussians	49.0	57.0	7.3	11.7
Kazakhs	41.8	52.3	1.8	2.1
Tatars	62.5	68.9	5.3	4.9
Azerbaijani	16.6	29.5	2.5	2.0
Armenians	30.1	38.6	6.0	5.7
Georgians	21.3	26.7	1.0	0.9
Moldavians	36.1	47.4	3.6	3.9
Tajiks	15.4	29.6	12.0	10.6
Lithuanians	35.9	52.1	1.9	1.5
Turkmens	15.4	25.4	1.3	1.6
Germans	59.6	51.7	1.1	1.1
Kirghiz	19.1	29.4	3.3	4.1
Jews	16.3	13.7	28.8	27.6
Chuvash	58.4	64.8	5.5	5.5
Nationalities of Dagestan	41.7	60.3	8.9	8.3
Latvians	45.2	56.7	2.4	2.2
Bashkirs	53.3	64.9	2.6	2.8
Mordvinians	65.7	65.5	8.1	7.7
Poles	37.0	44.7	12.7	13.1
Estonians	29.0	24.2	2.0	1.9

\* "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda", Moscow, 1979, Vol 4;  
"Naseleniye SSSR" (po dannym Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1979 goda)",  
Moscow, 1980.

republics and oblasts of the RSFSR (from 50 to 84 percent). Among the basic nationalities in the union republics, the highest indicators occur among the Belorussians, Latvians, Kazakhs, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and Moldavians. Knowledge of the Russian language is still comparatively low among Uzbeks, Azerbaijani, Georgians, Tajiks, Turkmens, Kirghiz, and Estonians (less than 30 percent), although even among them one observes an increase in bilingualism.

Another form of bilingualism, the so-called national-national form, is less widespread. It is encountered with one-tenth the frequency of the national-Russian form, and its growth is also insignificant. National-national bilingualism is typical, for example, of Belorussians in the Ukraine, Armenians in Georgia, Tajiks in Uzbekistan, and Tatars in Bashkiria. At the present time more than half the population of the Soviet Union is bilingual or multilingual (as of 1979, 48.7 percent).

One of the factors in the internationalization of spiritual culture is the linguistic relations, which are influenced by the historical role of language in the life of society. The process of internationalization has deeply penetrated the linguistic life of the peoples of the USSR. Originally it manifested itself in the borrowing of individual words, the working out of a common terminology, and then in the mastery of another language by various individuals. The process of internationalization in linguistic life reaches its highest stage when bilingualism or multilingualism becomes widespread everywhere, becomes a nationwide or mass phenomenon.

At the same time it is not precluded that there will be a complete linguistic conversion, which would result in the change of nationality to which a person belongs (Footnote) (See: Deshertsev, Yu. D., "Zakonomernosti razvitiya i vzaimodeystviya yazykov v sovetskem obshchestve" [Natural Laws Underlying the Development and Interaction of Languages in Soviet Society], Moscow, 1968, p 59). In our country there has been a rapid increase in the number of persons of non-Russian nationality who consider Russian to be their native language. Whereas there were 10.2 million of them in 1959, in 1970 there were 13 million and in 1979, 16.7 million persons. Most of them do not know their own national language. This can occur partially because many children who are born into mixed marriages inherit the nationality from their father and their language from the mother, or vice versa, although the latter happens less frequently. This increase is also promoted by the fact that the children are taught in school in Russian.

Linguistic assimilation has become rather widespread among Jews, Germans, Mordvinians, Poles, Belorussians, Komi, Udmurts, Chuvash, and Ukrainians (from 17 to 84 percent). It can be assumed that national assimilation among them is also widespread, although the statistics do not yet confirm this. (This can be established only indirectly, by comparing the natural growth of population [birth rate minus death rate] with the actual population growth.) One encounters rather infrequently persons who consider Russian to be their native language among Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmens, Chechens, Georgians, Azerbaijani, Lithuanians, Kazakhs, or the nationalities of Dagestan (from 5 to 23 per 1000 persons). Even in those rare instances they

Table 3. Persons Who Consider Russian and the Languages of Other Nationalities to be Their Native Language, persons per 1000 persons\*

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Russian</u>			<u>Other languages</u>		
	<u>1959</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
Entire population	106	116	131**	6	7	8
Russians	-	-	-	2	2	1
Ukrainians	122	142	171	1	1	1
Uzbeks	5	6	7	11	8	8
Belorussians	153	189	253	5	5	5
Kazakhs	12	17	20	4	3	5
Tatars	70	102	132	9	6	9
Azerbaijani	12	13	17	12	5	4
Armenians	83	76	84	18	10	9
Georgians	13	14	16	1	2	1
Moldavians	36	42	61	12	8	7
Tajiks	6	6	8	13	9	14
Lithuanians	12	15	17	10	6	4
Turkmens	12	8	10	5	3	3
Germans	242	327	426	8	5	4
Kirghiz	3	3	5	10	9	16
Jews	771	783	824	21	40	34
Chuvash	90	130	172	2	1	1
Nationalities of Dagestan	16	19	23	22	16	18
Latvians	46	46	48	3	2	2
Bashkirs	26	47	71	355	291	259
Mordvinians	218	221	273	1	1	1
Poles	138	202	262	407	473	447
Estonians	46	44	46	2	1	1

\* Computed on the basis of data from the results of population censuses:  
 "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1959 goda. SSSR: (svodnyy tom)", p 185; "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda", Vol 4, p 20; VESTNIK STATISTIKI, No 7, 1980, p 41.

\*\* Entire population, excluding Russians.

may be children of nationally mixed parents. It should also be noted that the increase in the number of persons for whom Russian is the native language has been growing among all peoples without exception, especially among Tatars, Germans, Chuvash, Bashkirs, Poles, Udmurts, Mari, Komi, and Permyaks.

The number of persons who mentioned the language of another nationality as their native language is comparatively small. It is from one-eighteenth to one-sixteenth of the number of persons for whom Russian is the native language. Constituting an exception are Bashkirs with a native Tatar language; Poles with native Belorussian; and Ossetians with native Georgian in Georgia and Jews with native Ukrainian in the Ukraine. But for certain nationalities (Uzbeks, Azerbaijani, Armenians, Moldavians, Lithuanians, Turkmens, and the nationalities of Dagestan) the number of persons considering the language of another nationality to be their native language is gradually decreasing. This attests convincingly to the greater dynamism of the Russian language as a language of communication among nationalities than the national language, even within the confines of the corresponding union and autonomous republics.

A question of great interest for researchers is the question of the extent to which the language of the basic nationality in a union republic has become widespread among the inhabitants of nonindigenous nationalities in the very same republic. This reveals yet another typical feature in the linguistic processes in each union republic separately. The language with the highest prestige is Russian in the RSFSR (52 percent of the non-Russian inhabitants there are fluent in Russian). Then comes the Ukrainian language in UkrSSR (40 percent); and the Lithuanian, Belorussian, and Armenian languages in their republics (see Table 4). That indicator is relatively high for the Latvian, Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Estonian, Moldavian, Tajik, and Turkmen languages. One's attention is drawn by the small rate to which the Kazakh and Kirghiz languages have spread among the inhabitants of nonindigenous nationalities in those republics. Apparently this is partially the result of the small percentage of Kazakhs and Kirghiz in their own republics, as well as the poor propagandizing of national culture in them.

A close correlation is preserved for persons of the nonbasic nationality who consider the language of the basic nationality to be their native language (see Table 4).

In certain republics, such as the RSFSR, Georgian SSR, and Latvian SSR, one observes a reduction in the number of persons of another nationality who consider the language of that republic to be their native language. This can serve as the sign of the changeover of linguistic assimilation to national.

The free development of national languages and the simultaneous spread of the Russian language as a language of communication among nationalities contribute to the further deepening of such a social phenomenon as bilingualism. Bilingualism under our country's conditions acts as an active factor and mighty means of interaction among the national cultures and contributes to their enrichment. The tendency toward bilingualism is a progressive one, and the national-linguistic policy of the CPSU provides all kinds of support to its complete manifestation. Bilingualism reinforces the friendship among all the peoples of the USSR, promotes the overcoming of national exclusivity and isolation, and promotes the intensification of the process of reciprocal

Table 4. Rate to Which the Language of the Basic Nationalities of the Union Republics Has Spread Among the Inhabitants of Other Nationalities in Those Republics, persons per 1000 persons\*

<u>Union republic</u>	<u>Fluent as a second language</u>		<u>Consider it their native language</u>	
	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
RSFSR	538	520	242	235
Ukrainian	245	400	38	46
Belorussian	166	230	191	172
Uzbek	91	92	18	28
Kazakh	11.4	9.9	1.6	2
Georgian	105	141	67	53
Azerbaijan	149	157	13	22
Lithuanian	207	231	27	30
Moldavian	137	111	11	12
Latvian	174	186	28	25
Kirghiz	19	20	6	7
Tajik	83	94	11	9
Armenian	160	230	15	31
Turkmen	60	72	8	13
Estonian	123	113	29	30

\* Computed on the basis of data from the results of All-Union Censuses: "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda", Vol 4; VESTNIK STATISTIKI, No 7-11, 1980.

influence and reciprocal enrichment of the natural cultures and the formation of international features in the spiritual and everyday life of the socialist nations. Language serves as the means of transmitting the peculiarities of the perception of the world, the manner of thinking, the character and the psychology of a particular nation, which it has developed over the course of millenia. It is precisely by means of the complete assimilation of another language that one can thoroughly study and understand the life of the nationality that speaks that language. Therefore the assimilation of several languages spiritually enriches a person. It is completely fitting to recall the well-known aphorism, "If you know two languages, you possess two worlds." Ethnic transformation also occurs by means of the assimilation of a new language, and therefore it is difficult to overestimate the importance of language in modern ethnic processes.

The spread of national-Russian bilingualism, which gradually is deepening and expanding in our country, promotes spiritual, social, and economic unity in the new historic commonality of people -- the Soviet nation. The knowledge of two languages -- one's native language and Russian -- is becoming a persistent necessity, a condition for the life and development of all the socialist nations and nationalities of our country. But the mastery of Russian is carried out on the basis of the growth and development of the native language and definitely does not mean the belittling of the role of the national languages. In the union and

autonomous republics, and in the autonomous oblasts and national okrugs, the national languages of the peoples of the USSR are functioning vigorously. Many of them fulfill the role of the state language in their union and autonomous republics. With the expansion of the social function, there has been an increase in the prestige of various national languages of the peoples of the USSR within the confines of the appropriate state-territorial formations. For example, within the confines of Kazakh SSR, as a result of the expansion of the social function and the intensification of its role as a means of public communication, there has been an increase in the importance of the Kazakh language. This is attested to by the increase in the percentage of persons who speak the Kazakh language among all the inhabitants of the republic as a consequence of the accelerated demographic growth of the indigenous population of Kazakhstan (from 28 to 39 percent in 1954-1984).

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CULTURE

WRITERS UNION CHIEF KARPOV VIEWS JANUARY PLENUM

PM041325 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Feb 87 p 3

["Remarks by a Participant in the CPSU Central Committee Plenum" by Vladimir Karpov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the USSR Writers Union Board: "Act! Act Creatively!"]

[Text] Vladimir Ilich Lenin's revolutionary theory and practice possess enormous magnetic force. Having come across the Marxist-Leninist teaching for the first time in the course of preparations for and execution of history's first socialist revolution, millions of people resolutely joined the ranks beneath its banner.

Now our party and people have also entered a period of revolutionary transformations--restructuring is underway in the country's entire economic, social, and spiritual life.

There are encounters which revolutionize man's fate. To be more precise, man is inspired and given wings by the thoughts and deliberations voiced during such encounters or, even more precisely, by the ideas, the magnetic force of these ideas, the convincing nature and captivating beauty of their scope, their fairness and their indisputable universal usefulness.

It was precisely such an historical and revolutionizing conversation that took place at the CPSU Central Committee plenum in the Kremlin 27-28 January. The talk during those 2 days was about the fate of each and every one of us, the fate of the country and the people. It is neither easy nor simple to undertake such revolutionary transformations. But the party did. Having admitted with total frankness what it was that led to the phenomena of stagnation in the late seventies and early eighties, it called upon the people to overcome them. Not only did it issue this call, but it also indicated how to wage this struggle and how to accomplish the irreversible restructuring planned by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress.

In his report to the plenum, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev also spoke about the misfortunes in literature engendered by phenomena of stagnation: "Criteria in the evaluation of artistic creativing declined. This led to a situation where, in parallel with works which raised serious social

and moral problems and reflected the real collisions of life, there appeared quite a few mediocre and featureless works which gave nothing to either the mind or the senses.... Here one cannot fail to speak about the responsibility born by our ideological departments, editors of artistic journals and leaders of creative unions, literary criticism, literary workers themselves, and figures in the arts for the ideological and artistic orientation of the creative process and for the people's moral health."

Those are sharp, hard, but fair words!

Yes, we did have people who loved roseate hues, singing praises, and beating drums. There is no need to go far in search of examples, it is sufficient to reach for the nearest bookshelf....

I do think, however, that M.S. Gorbachev spoke of our literary misfortunes not in order to reprimand or offend anyone, but to enable us to realize our specific errors and the scope of our responsibility before the people, to correct the prevailing situation by means of equally specific creative deeds.

During the discussion of political, social, and economic problems, many of those who addressed the plenum spoke about the press and literature and their enormous importance in the implementation of restructuring. A distinctive discussion developed on this issue, I took down a few notes from it, and I believe that it is very important for writers' understanding of their tasks under today's circumstances.

I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the Krasnodar Party Kraykom, spoke about correspondents arriving, spending a few days at a plant or on a kolkhoz, and publishing an abusive article in their newspaper. Is it likely that those who have worked for many years in a given oblast and know people and all production problems, understand them less than such a correspondent?

Several speakers supported this thesis and added something else. Is our press not speaking too much about negative phenomena? Authors at times relish shortcomings, and they are particularly keen on irony against leading workers. Is this not harmful, does it not provide information about negative aspects of our life which is sought after by ill-wishers?

And here is another opinion: The issue revolves not around the sharpness or criticism but around the competence of authors and the accuracy of facts. Authors must be held responsible for their accusations if they prove groundless.

Let me repeat that I am citing statements at the plenum not verbatim but in note form, I am reporting their essence.

The opinion by G.A. Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute, seemed well argued to me. He said that Sovietologists in the West are trying to present our restructuring as yet another temporary propaganda measure. If our press were to stop carrying sharp critical articles and features, they would use this to prove that they were right. It is, of course, not these Sovietologists that matter. It is primarily we who need criticism and publicity for successful restructuring. And as for positive heroes, they will definitely appear. It will, of course, take time for works in major art forms to appear--they are not created overnight.

And here is what V.P. Tikhomirov, turner at Moscow's Vladimir Ilich Electrical Engineering Plant, had to say:

"What is necessary is not only to state the negative facts but also to investigate at greater depth their causes and sources--this will be more beneficial for the cause."

As it always happens with fervent characters, USSR People's Artist M.A. Ulyanov spoke ardently and passionately, relying on his great creative experience. His speech contained the following words:

"Art is the people's eyes, and neither pink nor black glasses should be placed before them. Reality, the truth of life--this has always been the foundation of genuine art!"

Summing up the results of the CPSU Central Committee plenum, M.S. Gorbachev said the following in his closing speech about the aforementioned speeches (and other speeches not cited here by me) on matters concerning the press, literature, and art:

"The Communist Party firmly upholds the view that the people should know everything. Publicity, criticism and self-criticism, and monitoring by the masses--these are the guarantees for Soviet society's healthy development."

The broad scope for truth enhances our responsibility and confirms the well known truism that much is demanded of him to whom much is given. "The press must back publicity in our country and inform our people. But," M.S. Gorbachev reminded, "it must do this responsibly--this is the wish we express. Not to harp on sensationalism and the quest for 'hot stuff.' What we need is a press as an active participating in restructuring!"

And as regards the abuses, irresponsibility, and "daring" of demagogues, M.S. Gorbachev asked with evident irony a question which also provides the unambiguous answer: "Is it likely that we, with such a mighty party and such a patriotic people devoted to the ideas of socialism and their motherland, shall be unable to cope in the event of someone trying to take advantage of the broad publicity and the democratic process for selfish and antisocial purposes, for the purpose of slander?"

Restructuring and the party's cadres policy affect every member of the Writers Union most directly. We are carrying out great work on the education of Soviet people and nurturing their lofty moral qualities. One of our tasks is to participate in boosting the people's cultural and spiritual potential, which is so necessary and so important under the conditions of restructuring.

The human factor is one of the main conditions for implementing revolutionary transformations, the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized. This is also the basis of the plenum decisions on restructuring and the party's cadres policy. In my view, these decisions apply to writers even more than to people in other professions. On the one hand, literary workers are the party's ideological cadres. On the other hand, they are also part of the human factor which requires that supreme political and moral qualities be nurtured and shaped in them. Why make a secret of it--it was the slackening of educational work during the "stagnation" years, the declining standards of political thinking and principledness, and the spiritual obesity that engendered in our literature the shortcomings for which it was harshly but fairly criticized at the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum.

One of our profession's peculiarities is that we write in isolation, in the silence of offices, so to speak. But the "piecework" we produce must contain a major ideological charge. It is this specific aspect of individual creative work and the social weight of our "output" that place a particularly great responsibility on our creative organizations. Solititous attitude toward talented persons must be combined with attentive cultivation of them as personalities and creative workers, because works of art are sources of spiritual and ideological energy whose charge is transmitted to other people in their thousands and maybe even millions.

The plenum resolution "On Restructuring and the Party's Cadres Policy" contains remarkable passages defining party demands of cadres. In my view, these demands apply fully to writers--both as assistants of the party and as representatives of a certain profession. Here they are, these demands: "Ideological commitment, professionalism, a sense of duty, principledness, and high degree of responsibility for the veracity and accuracy of facts submitted for public judgment."

Wonderful qualities! The development of these remarkable qualities, especially necessary in the days of restructuring, must become the concern of party organizations in all creative associations, oblast and republican writers organizations, and the USSR Writers Union as a whole.

I would also like to share the following reflections from the days of the plenum's work.

Histroy knows of many revolutions, and each one of them was, in various ways, similar to and different from the others. The present revolutionary transformations differ from all previous ones by their humane and democratic nature. Harsh measures were applied in all previous revolutions. The

weight of the consequences of the "stagnation" years would give the party justification to act sternly at present. But the party did not take this path. Only impartial criticism and the advice. You who are either unwilling or unable to participate in the restructuring--step aside, do not stand in the way! Only the indifferent ones would step aside, the ones who organized the bygone stifling times and procedures; no honest working person can stand aside.

Here is a subject for a novelist, a real expanse of virgin soil untouched by anyone's pen. The new heroes are living next to us and are accomplishing deeds which revive our life. Everything seems familiar to us, and yet everything is different at the same time.

Major tasks lie ahead of our literature, but unfortunately not all writers have the strong mood of heart and spirit that is needed for restructuring. Public and backstage rivalries, jockeying for "position," settlement of accounts or vengeance for criticism, and bombardment by means of anonymous letters--all far removed from creative affairs--are still going on in some writers organizations. This distracts writers from the solution of major creative tasks, consuming much of their energy and at times even their health.

It is time, it is high time, indeed to put an end to these habits! Publicity and party principledness are the best medicine for such diseases.

A plenum of the USSR Writers Union Board will be held in the very near future, in March, to discuss the questions of our participation in the present restructuring of the country's entire social life. This, I hope, will be an occasion for a major, frank, and sharp conversation on what we have done and--mainly--what we have not done and what we still have to do in the light of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 8th All-Union Writers Congress decisions. I am confident that our work will proceed in the atmosphere of the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum, an atmosphere of publicity and democracy.

During the months since the 27th party congress, many writers have kept quite well in line with the demands of the time. This was felt primarily in current affairs, literature's most up-to-the-minute genre. Poets also responded to the call of the times. Unfortunately, however, poetry is still waiting to take off, to take wings as dictated by the moral and political climate of the time. Prose writers are also slow in taking off, but that can still be "justified" by the very nature of the genre, especially bearing in mind the large-scale forms of literary creative work. But the time has also come for them to say something new about our times.

It seems that literary criticism has realized its errors and blunders. In any case, quite a few articles have been written on this subject and there are hopes that they will be followed up by specific analytical works devoted to the contemporary literary process. Critics no longer insult

one another, they are uniting for the sake of the single noble cause of serving literature, and are channeling their efforts toward the solution of common writers' concerns.

We will, incidentally, for that reason meet at a plenum to talk in detail and honestly about all these matters and, as far as I know, many writers are actively preparing for this conversation--they do have things to say.

Everything must be subordinated to a single common goal--restructuring! We have been waiting a long time for it. The people have totally embraced the restructuring. It restores the image of genuine Leninist socialism. Our generation's fate is similar to the fate of those who accomplished the October Revolution. We are also implementing revolutionary transformations relying on Lenin's teaching. The way our generation will go down in history depends on our own selves, on how we will implement the restructuring planned by the party.

Today's generation of literary workers has been assigned the mission of recording the majestic deeds of restructuring and creating a new stratum of Soviet literature in the last decades of the 20th century. It is highly desirable that our books should rank as equal in artistic weight with the best books by our predecessors who reflected the birth and establishment of the socialist society, the majestic characters of its builders, and their heroic deeds.

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CSO: 1800/331

MOSCOW WEEKLY REVIEWS ALEKSANDR BEK NOVEL

PM060850 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 February 1987 carries on page 5 a 1,600-word book review by F. Chapchakhov under the heading "Man and Flaws," reviewing Aleksandr Bek's novel "The New Appointment" ["Novoye Naznacheniye"], published in issues No 10 and 11 for 1986 of the journal ZNAMYA.

Chapchakhov begins by noting the contemporary relevance of this novel, written 22 years ago but modern in "structure" and "phraseology" as well as in "the very nature of the artistic thought, the tasks which the writer sets himself and resolves." He goes on:

"Here too the novel 'The New Appointment,' written in the early sixties, differs markedly from a number of works which appeared at that time. Not infrequently the thrust of such works amounted to sensational revelations, in which justified condemnation of Stalin's personality cult sometimes grew willy-nilly into a condemnation of the entire era and in which the very concept of the 'Stalinist era' was decked in ironical or even sarcastic tones. True to his creative principle, which he himself described as 'investigation' or 'research,' A. Bek sought to study profoundly and thoroughly the contradictions of that heroic and tragic time."

The reviewer follows Bek in characterizing the book as a "report novel" [roman-otchet] where neither exaggerations nor omissions are permissible. He describes the characters featured in the book, in particular the hero, Onisimov, who, Chapchakhov says, is "a typical character, incorporating the unique, important features of his time and marked by both its strength and its weaknesses." He outlines Onisimov's career as presented in the book and describes him as "firm, even rigorous," but "failing to recognize his own flaws." Chapchakhov observes:

"Practical efficiency [ispolnitelnost] is a fine quality, but when it robs a person of the capacity for independent thought, when it fetters initiative, it is counterproductive. This simple truth is well illustrated by the episodes of the novel relating to an invention by the engineer Lesnykh. The proposed technical venture is clearly absurd to all the authoritative experts, including Onisimov. But Stalin insists on the introduction of Lesnykh's proposal, and Onisimov, who always views Stalin with veneration, believing that Stalin saved him from repressions, replies

without hesitation: 'It shall be done!' 'It was as if his earlier objections no longer existed: He regarded Stalin's command as an unquestionable supreme law.'"

The result, the reviewer says, is a major clash which helps bring about the hero's fatal illness. He explains that Onisimov "sincerely believed that 'he was not cut out for philosophizing,' he banished thoughts of the 'paradoxes and contradictions of the era,'" and that he "firmly believed he was doing his duty with honor." "After all, 'for him, the expression 'soldier of the party' was no hollow phrase... When 'soldier of Stalin' became current, he was proud and no doubt right to consider himself such a soldier.'"

Chapchakhov concludes as follows:

"Onisimov's time has long gone. But we will never forget all the good that was done by his generation.

"Now, many years later, it is easy to see the vulnerability of A. Bek's hero's position. It is not so easy to understand him, to recognize the tragedy of this figure and, without closing our eyes to those heavy marks of the times that fettered and oppressed an exceptional human nature, to give him his due."

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CSO: 1800/330

WAY TO HELP YOUNG WRITERS PUBLISH OUTLINED

PM151017 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 87 p 4

[Article by Sergey Bardin under the "Polemical Notes" rubric: "The Alternative. The Road From Manuscript to Bookstore Is Long, Especially for Young Writers. Why Is It So Hard for Them To Get Into Print?"]

[Text] As many readers, literature teachers, and specialists attest, interest in literature among the reading public--particularly young people--is declining: Young people do not read enough. A host of reasons are given: television, videos, and music. But people often forget the main reason--if young people do not read, that must mean that they do not find answers to their questions in literature today.

I do not claim that my conclusions cannot be contested but what I am setting out is my own perhaps controversial viewpoint.

I want to examine what is happening to literature. To that end let us trace the course that is taken by a newcomer to literature. And let us assume from the very outset that he comes into literature as an honorable, capable, and thoughtful person.

Initially he enters a literary association, many of which are organized under the auspices of enterprises or DEZ's. There he becomes acquainted with writers, reads his work, and listens to criticism. But most often he will leave because he will realize that the literary association does not help young people to publish.

Then work begins with him "in the sphere of work with young people." They send him to young writers' conferences. He receives a recommendation for publication of his first book. But he soon discovers that publishing houses treat these recommendations very coolly. They are in no hurry to publish new literature. There is no paper and the publishing plan is full for years to come.

But the critics begin writing about young authors. Even though they have still not managed to publish anything profound or substantial. Critics begin classifying authors by "groups" or "generations" and into age, regional, or professional groups.

The result of this is that styles and talents are mixed up, the "noted" are separated from those "not noted," everyone begins debating, meeting in apartments, writing manifestos—trying somehow to unite. Then people begin insulting them. Opponents and supporters appear. Criticism conducts a fierce debate over the young writers' heads. Some say that they must all be admitted en bloc to the Union of Writers, others that no one should be admitted at all.

Here the young people's paths diverge. For some there will be the glory of the unofficial, the renown of the rejected. Then a host of literary associations, overlooked mediocrities, admirers, and people who are simply addicted to writing latch on to them. And they all declare themselves to have been overlooked together with the truly talented.

Then the Union of Writers closes ranks, faces up to them, and exclaims: "Do you see the hordes of mediocrities trying to get in? Do you see what we are holding back?" And the aim is thus achieved. The talented are mixed up with the untalented and they are all tarred with the same brush. Unfortunately, the young often begin to despair and become embittered or resentful individuals.

Some writers break away and, at best, go into journalism and popular science or write humdrum prose and poetry. They begin "doing as they are told," they struggle along as best they can. Eventually they get into the Union of Writers. That is where the biggest shock awaits them: It turns out that for the writer joining the Union of Writers changes virtually nothing when it comes to getting into print! Because it is not a question of whether or not you belong to the Union of Writers but of whose side you are on, whose group or school you belong to, and what place you hold in it.

And at this point it would be natural to ask: Why is it that everyone helps the beginner but does nothing when it comes to the main matter-- publication?

The answer is simple. This happens because new talent is always a rival to the old. And the old are afraid of losing their readers and the privileges they have won. The task facing the old here is a complicated one—it is not to compete with the new but essentially to prevent the new literature from competing. The situation which has now taken shape with "the young" is a purely departmental one. And it cannot be resolved without unearthing the economic roots of that departmentalism, without analyzing it.

The fact is that every writer, by the very nature of his form of work, is a craftsman, an artisan. He works alone with words and a blank sheet of paper. In this sense he is no different from a potter or jug-maker in the Samarkand market place offering his pot or jug for sale. How does this master craftsman work? First he produces his goods. Then he puts them on general display. The customer comes along and looks, then chooses whether or not to buy the pot at the asking price.

What about the writer, the poet, or the critic? They, too, produce something of their own. This is where the difference comes in. An artificial situation has now been created to ensure that they cannot exhibit their form of pot or jug. The main difference is that they are not allowed to take their wares to the "customer." Because they are potential competitors.

How does this come about? There are two main ways. One way is the formation of a kind of "shop association." The other is to turn publishing into the preserve of certain writers' groups or groupings. The first method is to admit the new apprentice into the "shop" (the Union of Writers) and envelop him in a complex, long-term, multitier system of prohibitions, categories, and deadlines. The point of this is to ensure that he cannot effectively compete with his seniors. They allow him to display his wares (his published book) but only one which corresponds to his status in the merit table--neither better nor worse. The result is the publication of bland novels and feeble verse. The writer accepts this situation because he sees no other way of getting published.

The second way is considerably more effective: It is to have "one's own" publishing houses and journals. First, this makes it possible to publish mediocre works in enormous print runs precisely because these are the "preserve" of certain writers' groups and have become a real "money-spinner" for them. Second, this method of publishing selects its own reader, who is forced to buy second-rate books simply because he isn't offered good books. He is unaware of them, they are not on sale, they have not been published. Third, this mass production of books justifies the claim that there is a paper shortage and that printing capacities are fully loaded. And that way it is possible to class uncompromising writers in the "young" category. Because it is patently obvious that the "young writer" today is not an age category but a social category. Just like in a team: "Hey, youngster, go get us some cigarettes!"

Where did the following divisions, astonishing from a commonsense viewpoint, originate in our literature: the "30-year-old" writers, the "40-year-old" writers, the Rostov writers, country writers, and city writers? The age, regional, or thematic distinction is the result of a departmental approach to literature. The need to defeat someone else's monopoly requires that writers be divided into groups or regions. The Union of Writers expresses surprise and critics pretend to lament the existence of small groups. But we are quite well aware of the laws of political economy. Existence determines consciousness. The method of sale determines group associations not according to the principle of creation but the principle of strength. And strength lies in numbers.

That is why Union of Writers' members form groups. And those outside the union form associations of poets and trade union committees of literary people. At this point it must be said that the situation of rebellion and the nonrecognition of young people is caused directly by the prevailing literary production process.

Is there an alternative to all this? There is. When an academic defends a dissertation he must, under the existing regulations, present and circulate an abstract of his work. This is a small pamphlet and the author orders 100 copies from the printing house. He pays R80. This is the standard procedure and causes no surprise to anyone.

Now imagine that the opportunity arises for the mass of departmental printing plants to publish a book on a basis of financial autonomy--using the author's own money. A slim volume of verse is the size of an academic abstract. A volume of prose is four times thicker on average. It will thus cost the author R120. Let us assume the same amount on expenses. Add a further R200 for binding. And it turns out that for a maximum of R500 every writer could publish a thick novel in a print run of, say, 1,000 copies.

What then? First, the author then sends copies to bookstores; second, he sends copies to publishing houses; and third, he sends copies to critics. And only now does the machinery of royalties and compensations start operating. Since the writer has gotten into print, has exhibited his jug, his decorated pot. Now it is up to the Literary Fund to decide whether to give him the money spent on printing the book by way of compensation or not; up to the critics to decide whether he has talent; the public to decide whether to buy the book; the bookseller to decide whether to order copies for the bookstore; and the publishing house to decide whether to print it in a large run or not. The literary situation returns to normal.

To organize such a type of publication young writers could form creative communities. Artists, musicians, critics, and theater specialists could also participate in such creative communities. An association of young creative workers formed on the basis of a common goal or problems--similar to youth centers or engineering centers--to carry out common production and publishing goals would enable them to display more widely their civic and party stance and promote their artistic maturity.

All this was discussed at a recent plenum of the board of the Moscow Writers' Organization and at a forum of Moscow creative youth. Everyone seems to appreciate the need to restructure the literary process. But where is the money to be obtained? Where is the paper for such publications to be obtained?

I think that the situation regarding printing houses and paper resembles that which occurred in the agroindustrial sector. The cities had no fruit or vegetables. But then kolkhozes and sovkhozes were allowed to sell them, and everything was immediately found: The goods, the transport, the sellers, and the customers.

It is the same with literature. All you have to do is let the printing houses publish books on a basis of financial autonomy, and saved paper will be immediately found, as will the presses, writers, and readers who will buy the books.

It is probably necessary to create literary and theater centers which would conduct cultural work in cafe-theaters and cafe-clubs. And the money for soirees, poetry circles, debates, and spectacles for which a charge is made could be used to cover young writers' outlay on their first book.

The Komsomol is today adopting a laudable and promising stance on these questions. But it is essential, together with creative cadres, to help the young writer and reader to find each other.

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CULTURE

IZVESTIYA VIEWS SIGNIFICANCE OF MOVIE 'REPENTANCE'

PM051157 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Teymuraz Mamaladze: "Parable and Truth. Remarks on the Movie 'Repentance'"]

[Text] Let movie critics have their say about the movie. There can be no argument that it is exceptional as a work of art and deserves their attention. Being an ambiguous and complex work, it does not lend itself to unprofessional analysis. But I, an ordinary viewer, would like to speak about this movie as a phenomenon of social life. An outstanding and memorable phenomenon throwing light on many things today and in this context transcending the movie's high esthetic value.

But how can "Repentance" have anything to do with the present? It seems, after all, that this parable about a city satrap cannot be accurately placed in time. Apartments and limousines from the Italian "la dolce vita," knights' armor and inquisitorial gowns from the times of Torquemada, judges' gowns and wigs from the Thermidor tribunals, paramilitary blouses and Sam Browne belts worn by the self-styled "beloved of the people...."

When and where does this entire phantasmagoria unfold?

Whenever and wherever those in power transform this power into an evil for society. Wherever, disregarding laws and morals, people usurp the right to condemn and to pardon.

The parable narrated by T. Abuladze is timeless, and only a few harsh threads interwoven in its multicolored texture refer us to our own history.

No particular mental or visual effort is needed to recognize "heroes" of different magnitudes in the figure of city boss Varlam Aravidze. But behind this satanic mask, brilliantly worn by actor Avtandil Makharadze, I recognize not only the bespectacled Malyuta [reference to Malyuta Skuratov, organizer of terror under Ivan the Terrible] whose portrait, bearing the inscription "Heroism and valor in a school pupil means studying for excellent grades," haunted the school years of my generation. The magnitude varies according to how high one Aravidze or another had climbed up the ladder, a ladder which, even though old, is by no means rickety,

a ladder which does not seem shaken by the winds of time. Behind Varlam--a collective image, a "collage"--we perceive a line of specific prototypes belonging to different nations and different periods in history.

But the purpose of the complex optics in "Repentance" is not just to produce a superficial image of "the powers that be." Here we have another, a much sharper, a much more penetrating viewpoint drawing the viewer's thoughts into present-day life, in your own or in another country. And the valor with which "Repentance" asks the difficult questions engenders inside you the courage to answer: Yes, even now there are among us people infected by the "Aravidze Syndrome."

Even now, on the other side of a door or down the corridor, in a neighboring building or in the room next door, there lurk quite a few such people, nostalgic for the times of favorites enjoying unrestricted power within the boundaries of their desktop, office, or department.

This nostalgia is stronger than the fear of not joining in the social turnabout, and therefore it quite often takes the form of excessive administrative ferocity and bureaucratic cruelty. And then woe betide the desk, the office, and the department.... Woe betide the cause and people in the charge of such a pocket-Malyuta [pod nachalom etakogo Malyutki Kuratora].

Do not give him any power, or at least do not allow him to abuse it--the movie shows convincingly that this goal is attainable. It does so not just by its contents, but by the very fact that it has seen the light of day. And from this viewpoint, it is no longer a parable at all.

In addition to the parable about truth, there is also the truth about the parable. The movie was commissioned by the state and was made with support and cooperation from party, government, and public organizations in the Georgian SSR. They were guided by a clear idea: Such a movie is needed today. Its paramount task is a lesson for the future. A lesson for everyone. And because it is presented in an unusually vivid esthetic form, the movie is stunning. And it illuminates the soul.

Yes, this amazing movie is very beautiful. The story of three generations of the Aravidze family--this is the pageant of the fable, but it abounds with documentary evidence and, along the way to the finale, the director can no longer contain it within the framework of the pageant and it spills forth before our eyes.

By the time that happens, your own life is already inseparable from what is happening on the screen. Your own life is subordinated to it and to the desire to free yourself from it.

Even though Varlam and those like him are transient, this is no consolation. They manage to achieve much within the limits of their allotted time span. Relentlessly molding time to their caricature figures, they stamp on it

their own features, characters, and habits. And anything that does not fit within this "standard mold" is chopped off completely. Even when it is a human fate.

This is how Sandro Barateli dies, an artist and defender of an ancient temple due to be demolished to make room for a mechanical installation. This installation is Varlam's favorite brainchild, dubbed scientific by him. Science serves the bright future, while the temple is the heritage of the accursed past. But for Barateli the temple's spiritual magnitude exceeds the meager vision of the favorite. Today we know how correct Barateli was. A few generations later, the demolition of monuments of history and the arts has resulted in a shortage of historical memory. Barateli's correctness has been proved by time, but he had to pay for it with his life.

At the moment of Varlam's "coronation," Barateli's young daughter Keti is shown blowing bubbles. The rainbow-colored surface of the small globes reflects Aravidze's true size. Everything in him is petty and base, and only his political adventurism is monumental. He will be cast in metal, while the Barateli clan will become a forest which will be chopped down so splinters fly.

Young Keti will grow into an elderly woman and will live to see Varlam Aravidze dead, having never forgiven the man who indiscriminately wielded the ax in that forest.

Yes, despite bygone orations about immortality, the Aravidzes are mortal. They are buried with pomp and grief and, as soon as the last clump of earth falls on the coffin's lid, society heaves a secret sigh of relief: "Gone, never to return."

But they do return.

The movie explains the phenomenon of this kind of "resurrection."

Ketevan Barateli forces her way into the cemetery at night and digs Varlam's body out of the grave. She takes it to his son Avel's home and leaves it in the yard.

The desecrator is ambushed, caught, and brought to trial.

At her trial she says:

"Varlam Aravidze will never lie in the earth while I'm alive. I'll dig him up not three, but 300 times. Interring him means forgiving him, closing your eyes to everything he has done."

You can imagine nothing more terrifying than the body of yesterday's werewolf leaning against a tree or a wall. But I know that none of this is a product of the director's imagination. In the distant and not so

distant past peasant communities in Georgia have on many occasions inflicted such posthumous punishment on their torturers. The people's conscience cannot accept a favorable outcome to an iniquitous life.

It is precisely this implacability that Ketevan Barateli's action expresses. It is a protest against attempts to bury the past. It must be with us while we are alive--be it glorious or inglorious, in all its aspects, single and indivisible. By trying to separate grief from pride and to consign it to oblivion together with the bodies of the late Aravidzes we involuntarily assist the return of their spiritual heirs and thus risk undermining the future.

This indeed is also the scheme of the Aravidzes--to bury the truth and to affirm lies as the "norm" of social existence and essentially as a means for alienating the individual from the country's lofty ideals and serious concerns.

"The time that has elapsed since the congress and the latest events confirm most convincingly the fundamental importance of the lesson in truth.... The party and the people need the whole truth, in matters great and small. Only truth educates people with a developed sense of civic duty, while lies and half-truths corrupt conscience and deform personality."

Generations can concur with these words spoken by M.S. Gorbachev. The generation of Ketevan, who is played by Zeynab Botsvadze with such impeccable accuracy and aching urgency that I perceived in her my own mother, her comrade in the misfortunes of 1937. Their children's generation. My generation.

The movie "Repentance" is yet another lesson in the truth taught by the 27th congress. This subject, which has come back into its own and is the main one to be studied by every citizen, is listed as the main component among the accelerators of the country's development. And if it be true that we, the children of the thirties, want to derive as much as possible from it and repay it with equal measure, it is equally true that many of us have been reborn by this amazing time of truth's triumph.

During the fifties we were young, and our hopes were equally young. As the years went by some parted company with their hopes, others--despite everything--have borne them through their whole lives. They did all they could to implement them, linking with them dreams for a better future for the country. This time has come.

A foreign journalist asked Elem Klimov after his election as first secretary of the USSR Cinematography Workers Union Board:

"What actually happened at the cinematography workers congress?"

"The majority in favor of changes gained the upper hand over the minority opposing them...."

I imagine that this reply is a model of the contemporary social situation. The majority are in favor of changes and aim for them. But the Aravidzes are resisting, and it is dangerous to ignore this, let alone to conceal it.

It is difficult to stop at a simple statement of fact. You want to say more. You want to repeat the very correct thought about the need for every citizen's personal involvement in the creation of a truthful and correct motherland. I, you, all of us must identify ourselves with it. This "identification of the individual with the external features" of the fatherland has an amazing power to create and overcome. An example of this is provided by the very same period of the thirties, the Great Patriotic War, the postwar years, Gagarin's flight.... But why go so far back: Did the Chernobyl tragedy not rally us with the truth about it, with the self-sacrifice by the heroes, with the compassion for the victims, and with the anger against the culprits? It rallied and united us because the nerve of nationwide involvement has not been desensitized.

But when the pain was being deadened, some people discovered advantages in window dressing which covered up the country's great, glorious, and difficult life and the true importance of this nerve in it. This lucrative work produced skilled window dressers, like the ones who filed wrongful accusations against Barateli, bringing creative argument down to the level of political denunciation.

The words "A novel is a deed" live on in the memory. A genuine novel, rather than adaptation to needs, tastes, and the cowardice of a departmental "demiurge." A genuine work of art, rather than a distilled product with zero content of truth. Not an imitation of truth--after all, truth can also be cleverly forged, like biographies, ways of life, and social merits are forged--but a natural offspring of truth without any admixture of deception. But there was no pleasure for the prospector who managed to find it or at least to extract it nugget by nugget from the stream of life.

I recall now, following the movie "Falling Leaves" [Listopad], director Otar Ioseliani was summoned to a republic rally of young wine-growers and was branded from the rostrum as a denigrator of the bright wine-growing reality. But afterward, after the rally, people approached their stunned contemporary and muttered guiltily: "Sorry, brother, you know how it is, we were ordered, recommendations were made.... We don't think that way...."

We don't think that way but we say it, we don't agree but we concur.... And the double standard, like a delayed-action mine, is slipped beneath the economy's structure. The destruction of personal ethics leads to the deformation of worker ethics: Deception of the state, overreporting, window dressing, and decline of output quality. Those young wine-growers subsequently grew into a disreputable group of adulterators of a product associated since ancient times with Georgia's economic prosperity. Having substituted lies for truth, having betrayed their true selves, they found it easy to embark on substituting ersatz products for pure grape juice and started poisoning an entire section of the national economy. The outcome was exactly what the artist had warned and fought against.

A year after the April plenum the country saw A. German's movie "Roadside Inspection" [Proverka na Dorogakh]. That was also a result of the turnabout in society's life. We saw the forces this turnabout releases and how boldly it recruits them as levers for acceleration.

But joy gave way to sadness. The movie had been gathering dust on shelves for 15 years. But even so it is stunning. It is stunning if one imagines the constructive force the movie's effect would have had on people's minds and hearts had it appeared promptly, at the time when the country needed it.

After all, it was not just withdrawn from release, it was excluded from social circulation, and that was bound to have negative consequences. It is not difficult to imagine how the country's affairs would have progressed had intelligent, courageous, and wise ideas, projects, concepts, and works appeared in good time, at the time when they were needed. Had this happened, I believe, the country would not have entered the eighties carrying a confusing load of burdens from the past.

Today, when the country is freeing itself from these burdens, the artist stands alongside the party leader, economic manager, and strategist of economic upsurge as a fully equal co-author and fellow fighter. How much he has accomplished and how successful he has been in this time. But we must not overlook the counterfeiters of values: The great public demand for truth produces numerous offerings, and those who play the market are naturally inclined to respond and oblige.... The hope must lie with criticism, with the assumption that criticism, also freed from the "self-preservation complex," will determine what is to be ranked among the false and what among the true.

I am convinced that "Repentance" ranks among the true. And citizens are becoming stronger due to the fact that this ranking has also been introduced as one of the first tasks of moral and spiritual restructuring. Citizens breathe more easily and work better, even though they have to work much harder than ever before. But all the burdens of personal life and work routine become lighter because the main factor has been reborn--the awareness of the identity between their personal labor and the fate of their country.

This time the movie is not late in appearing. It was not commissioned especially to coincide with the January plenum, as was done back in the past in surges of dutiful enthusiasm, but its entire essence and all its pathos coincide with the decisive and irreversible turnabout in the direction of society's democratization.

The appearance of this movie on the screen is evidence of trust in the citizen, in his political and spiritual maturity, and in his ability to accept the truth and help it to triumph.

Truth can be cruel at times, and not everyone can cope with it. On learning the truth of Ketevan and the untruth of his relatives, Varlam's grandson Tornik takes his own life. And only then do his father's eyes

open. Avel casts off the mark of Cain by personally digging Varlam's body out of the grave.

When the lights came back on in the auditorium, I heard someone next to me say:

"How is it possible to live in the old ways after such a movie?"

But other words were also spoken, and I would like to respond to them in Lev Tolstoy's words: "What do you mean, why remember? If I have been suffering from a bad or dangerous illness and have been cured of it, I will always remember with joy. I will only cease remebering when I am ill, my illness persists and deteriorates, and I want to deceive myself."

We are getting rid of diseases. This is what "Repentance" is about.

Politics has urgent need of art, and art cannot live outside politics. And translations from the language of the one into the language of the other must be synchronized—in this way they sound more lucid and more clear, and the public response is that much stronger.

Here are the results of a spot poll conducted at Tbilisi movie theaters by sociologists from the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Institute for the Study of Public Opinion. Despite the complex poetry of "Repentance," the majority of those polled accurately defined it as a political movie "honestly and frankly reflecting the negative and alien elements still existing in our life." The predominant view among the intelligentsia was that this is a profoundly philosophical movie depicting a "collective image of evil," while workers declared that it poses urgent problems of the present and of society's moral renewal. Older viewers, aged 60 and over, expressed the fear that "the movie will have an adverse effect on young people," while young people, rejecting the director's decision to have young Tornik Aravidze commit suicide, perceived this as "mistrust in young people and their sense of civic responsibility for the affairs of society and the country."

This critical remark is the most precious of all.

At the very end of "Repentance" an old woman (Veriko Andzhaparidze) comes on screen and asks Ketevan Barateli:

"Where does this street lead to? Does it lead to the temple?"

"This is Varlam Street," Ketevan replies, "it cannot lead to a temple."

"Who needs a road if it does not lead to a temple?" the woman complains.

In his two previous movies—"Prayer" [Molba] and "Tree of Desire" [Drevo Zhelaniya]—Tengiz Abuladze was erecting a temple. Let us call it humanity opposing injustice and evil. Without "Repentance," the third movie in the planned trilogy, the structure would have been incomplete. Now this metaphor has finally acquired the meaning of a major and socially important thought: The only correct road is the one that does not bypass the ideal of truth.

CULTURE

VOROTNIKOV ADDRESSES SESSION ON CHILDREN'S THEATER

PM081440 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 December 1986 Second Edition carries on page 3 a full-page feature under the heading "Theater of Truth--Teacher of Children." The unattributed introductory passage reads:

"Theater for children, adolescents, and young people... Is there any need to say how the problems of improving and developing it concern us all? It is a question of ideopolitical, ideological, moral, and aesthetic education, of the civic development of a generation which tomorrow must carry out great deeds, build the new society, and strengthen our fatherland's might. That is why the problems of theater art, which may appear 'private' problems at first glance, affect every one of us, and at the same time are very important state problems. This is also indicated by the fact that the other day the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium held a session devoted to increasing the role of theater art in the education of the young generation (this page was compiled on the basis of an abbreviated transcript of the discussion). In recent years many important, acute problems have accumulated, requiring wide discussion and speedy resolution. Some of them were discussed at the recent Constituent Congress of the USSR Union of Theater Societies and in the delegates' speeches. The growing role of theater art in the country's spiritual life was also discussed at the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee between M.S. Gorbachev and leading theater personalities. Naturally, the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium session also began with the burning questions.

"What can be done, how can young people be attracted to the theater? Why is children's liking for the theater diminishing? What processes are taking place? Who is falling down on the job, and where? Difficult questions requiring openness. The session was conducted by V.I. Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers."

Apart from a photo of some girls in a theater and a list of statistics on theater for young people in the RSFSR, the feature includes the following items: a 1,200-word account of the report by Yu.S. Melentyev, RSFSR minister of culture; an 800-word account of the speech by Nataliya Sats, headed "If You Are Enjoying Yourself, You Can Entertain Others"; a 500-word account of remarks by Sergey Mikhalkov, with interjections from the floor, headed "Nothing But the Best for the Children's Theater"; an 800-word

account of Mikhail Ulyanov's speech headed "School of Morality and the Spirit"; and a 500-word account of remarks by G.P. Veselov, RSFSR minister of education.

The feature ends with the following account of Vorotnikov's concluding remarks:

"V.I. Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, spoke to conclude the discussion. He noted, in particular:

"Today's topic of discussion, the role of theater art in the education of young people, is, of course, hard to divorce from many other problems connected with the education of adolescents and young people. During the discussion we have ventured, like it or not, beyond the bounds of purely theatrical activity, touching on the cinema, popular entertainment, musical education, and school preparation. Indeed, children and young people are educated in the family, educated in school, educated at the VUZ, and educated in society.

"I agree that material and financial questions must be resolved, that they have become so pressing that they are to some extent a restraining factor in the present approach to the education of children and young people. We cannot do everything all at once. Not all the problems touched on today are within our power. A number of them go beyond the bounds of the republic's possibilities. We must promote their resolution on a unionwide scale... But there is much that we can do ourselves. Much depends on the mood created in a particular organization, oblast, kray, rayon, or village. Plenty of examples could be cited of a kolkhoz doing remarkable work with children, while a big city is terribly bad at it. There are really devoted people who love children and their work and put their heart and soul into it. And there are indifferent people...

"Everything is multifaceted, nothing is easy, everything is complicated... We rightly say: Our young people are good, healthy, strong, tempered, and behave heroically in difficult times. But at the same time we have now opened up the widest opportunities to tell the truth and speak sincerely about the negative processes taking place even among our young people. How can we overcome these processes and restrain them? We believed and believe that in the conditions of our socialist system, in our state, we can influence young people more actively in the right direction. I am therefore in favor of telling them the truth, of showing them 'The Scarecrow' ['Chuchelo'], 'Cruel Games' ['Zhestokiye Igry'], or whatever it may be. But not only that, of course. Of course, it is not only through such things that we must educate young people and show them the truth about life. We must also educate them through feelings of romance, patriotism, and love for what is fine.

"I was educated in a worker's family. And the first show I saw in my life, at the age of nine, was 'Czar Fedor Ioannovich.' It was pure chance that I happened to go to that particular show, but it stunned me. It was

in Voronezh. That first contact with the theater, that first contact with people's life on the stage made a tremendous impression. And led to a love for the theater. Was that show really on a suitable theme for a child of that age? Would it not have been better to go and see a fairy tale? And what should today's boy of that age see? What should today's young people see? We must recognize that moment of truth, so to speak...

"So what kind of shows should we give to today's kids? How should the truth about life be revealed to them? How are we to lead them along the right path?

"...The question we are discussing today is really huge. It affects everyone. We must more actively influence the young generation through the theater, through television, through other forms of contact...

"I would very much like the comrades to do some serious work on a resolution on the results of our discussion, put their hearts, our common concern, into it, and give clear guidelines for future work. I especially wish to draw attention to vocational and technical education and school. How should they work, how should relations be built? And of course, questions of the material base must be resolved. Otherwise nothing is possible..."

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CSO: 1800/332

CULTURE

IZVESTIYA INTERVIEWS TAGANKA THEATER'S EFROS

PM231053 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 January 1987 morning edition carries on page 3 under the heading "Anatoliy Efros: Life in General Is Very Dramatic" a 3,500-word interview with Taganka Theater Director Anatoliy Efros by N. Ismailova. The introduction to the interview states: "This talk took place at the Taganka Theater 9 January 1987. We were to review this text together on 13 January at 1500 hours but Anatoliy Vasilyevich Efros died at 1350 hours."

In the interview Efros discusses the theater's forthcoming visit to France, his own career and writings, and the reasons for the Taganka Theater's "prestige," which he sees in the fact that "the actors here, in contrast to many others, are closely connected with life." Finally Efros complains that although the "theater boom" has passed, auditoriums are still filled, but "filled with an audience which does not love the theater and which calls plays scenarios."

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CSO: 1800/330

CULTURE

KARAGANDA CONFERENCE ON CULTURE HELD IN KAZAKHSTAN

PM121655 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 5 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 3,000-word report by V. Maricheva under the heading "A Vital Lesson For Us All" on a meeting held in Karaganda between the SOVETSKAYA KULTURA editorial board and the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee on the subject of culture in Kazakhstan. Taking part in the discussion, the report says, were: "K. Smailov, chief of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee culture section; A. Sigayev, republic deputy minister of culture; A. Khaydarov, first secretary of the Kazakh Union of Artists Board; T. Sapargaliyeva, secretary of the Union of Composers Board; and A. Kekilbayev, secretary of the Union of Writers Board." The hosts, the report says, included "the chiefs of obkom departments, party raykom secretaries, members of the arts intelligentsia, and the leaders of industrial enterprises and vuzs."

The main body of the report is devoted to comments made by the various participants, with different issues raised in the course of the discussion. A point made by L. Kraskova, secretary of the Karaganda party gorkom, is that "culture is not a priority 'sector'" in comparison to the metallurgical industry, for example. To illustrate this point, an unidentified speaker says "three of Karaganda's theaters live a precarious existence" and "do not have their own premises." Backing up this point, A. Ablayeva, meritorious artiste of the Kazakh SSR, says "We have to work under terrible conditions: two drama theaters--Russian and Kazakh--on one stage, in one building, and this building is in a bad state of disrepair."

Raising the issue of what should actually be performed at theaters, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA remarks that "a performance and artistic invention are nearly always judged by incompetent people who have for some reason assumed the exclusive right to decide what people do and do not need." As an example of this, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA recalls how a theater was stopped from putting on a play by V. Kondratyev, "Sashka," on the grounds that it was "ideological sabotage."

Following a discussion on Kazakh writers and architects, N. Zyabkin, secretary of the party organization of the Karaganda branch of the USSR Union of Artists, draws attention to the "disunity of the creative intelligentsia." "Even artists and architects," he says, "cannot agree among themselves on problems of mutual interest."

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CSO: 1800/330

CULTURE

UZBEK AUTHOR NOTES PROGRESS, CLOSE TIES DURING TRAVEL TO PRC

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN ATI in Uzbek on 10 October 1986 carries on page 7 a 2,600-word travel account by Ibrohim Ghafurov entitled "Like the Volga and Yangtze" in which he discusses his tour of several cities in Xinjiang Province of the People's Republic of China as a member of a Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society delegation for 10 days in August-September 1986. In Kulja the group visited the Ili Woolen Goods Factory, which employs 3,700 people, 60 percent of them women, 40 percent minority nationalities, and around 8 percent members of the Chinese Communist Party. He notes that great attention is being paid to incentives, so that whichever workers do the best and most work receive the highest pay. Trade unions protect the vital interests of workers. Some 50 nationalities live in Kulja, a city with four polyclinics and many technicums.

The basic economic pursuits in Xinjiang are vegetables and livestock. During the Cultural Revolution there was a great upheaval that set the economy back, but in the last 5 years it has been righted again. Nonetheless, there still is not much large-scale construction. In Kulja, Urumchi, Kashgar, and Turfan the number of large construction projects can be counted on the fingers of one hand. New construction began only after the Cultural Revolution ended. In recent years all the land has been given to families, and farms grow produce and raise livestock on the basis of contracts with the state. The government's new reform policy is concerned with the people's prosperity. Like the Cultural Revolution, the communal farm has been abandoned. In the author's opinion the land reform in China and especially in the Uighur Autonomous Region of Xinjiang is reflected in the faces and smiles of the people--undoubtedly, the smiles are a reflection of prosperity.

On 1 September the group arrived in Urumchi, capital of Xinjiang. They visited the Xinjiang History and Art Museum, met with Uighur intellectuals and members of the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society, and discussed the social renewal and rebuilding going on in the USSR, the peace-loving policies of the Soviet Union, and the expansion and improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations. They learned about literary activities in Xinjiang and China. There are nine research institutes in Urumchi, including Central Asian, Nationalities, History, and Archaeology Institutes. The province has 12 publishing houses and journals are printed in Uighur,

Mongol, Kazakh, and Kirghiz languages. The Xinjiang section of the Chinese Writers Union has over 600 members. One writer and chief editor of the journal "Xinjiang Art," a person named Wang-Rong, stated that the friendship between the two peoples has deep roots and is the kind of friendship that only two brothers could know. The friendship is like the everflowing Volga and Yangtze Rivers. Sometimes the water of a river grows muddy, but as its powerful currents flow the water is purified again.

#### UZBEK LINGUISTIC TEXTBOOKS TRANSLATED INTO DARI

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN ATI in Uzbek on 24 October 1986 carries on page 7 a 400-word article by Docent and Candidate of Philology Anvar Ismoilov entitled "Gift for Afghan Students" in which he points out that Soviet specialists have helped develop higher and secondary education in the DRA by giving lectures and seminars to Afghan students at the Kabul and Nangarhar Universities, the Polytechnic Institute, the Pedagogical Academy, and several secondary specialized schools. Among these Soviet pedagogues is Professor Doctor of Philology Abduzuhur Abduazizov. In 1981-1983 he lectured in the Department of Language and Literature at Kabul University and helped Afghan pedagogues write scientific works. Last year the publishing house of Kabul University printed his textbooks "Introduction to Linguistic Theory" and "General Linguistics" in the Dari language. These textbooks will be used by students of the Department of Philology this year. The Department of Language and Literature has added a new section on Uzbek Language and Literature.

#### UZBEK WRITERS WARNED AGAINST NIHILISM

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN ATI in Uzbek on 17 October 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,300-word lead editorial entitled "The Turnaround Era and the Creative Person" which points out that republic literary activities still do not meet party demands for restructuring work. Writers are still not taking full advantage of the potential for openness and democracy that has opened up to them. They are slow in assimilating the great changes occurring in society. At the present time literature and art are said to be adorned with empty words, bombastic flights, excessive praise, artifices, and cliches. The best art instills a sense of community and makes the most pressing issues immediate to the reader. However, some writers and critics twist things, sink into nihilism, or negate everything. Such writers hide behind the trend for openness and democracy in exposing shortcomings, but they do not have the right to be destructive or to negate the good things being accomplished. The time has come for the creative community to call to order those who condemn everything without looking at the positive trends in literature and art. Unfortunately, some of these harmful tendencies are the fault of newspapers and journals that assess artistic works superficially and subjectively.

The editorial states that if the thinking person wishes to learn from history, he must approach it from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist dialectics. It is not correct to idealize kings and rulers, regardless of which people they belonged to. Only the truthful depiction of the past, its progressive people, and great thinkers who fought for truth and justice can serve to educate today's generation. The people and class consciousness should always occupy a leading place in historical works. Historical events should not be approached with petty, subjective criteria. Writers are urged to keep these precepts in mind and review their work in light of the recent plenum on ideological work of the Uzbek CP Central Committee.

#### AFGHAN UZBEK POET PUBLISHED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN ATI in Uzbek on 24 October 1986 carries on page 7 a 600-word article by Muhammad Ali entitled "Gift of a Friend" in which he reports that he recently received from Afghanistan a collection of poems by the Afghan Uzbek poet Ashraf Azimiy entitled "Great Victory." The poems deal with the struggles and successes of the April Revolution. Azimiy was born in a village in Faryab Province in 1938. After graduating from the Department of Mathematical Physics of Kabul University he taught in several cities. He writes poetry in Uzbek and Dari, serves as chairman of the Department of Uzbek Language and Literature under the DRA Ministry of Education, and also supervises the preparation of Uzbek language textbooks for primary and secondary classes. In 1981-1982 he studied in Tashkent.

#### EAST GERMAN UZBEK SPECIALIST PROFILED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN ATI in Uzbek on 17 October 1986 carries on page 7 a 600-word article by Ghanijon Mahmudov entitled "Propagator of Our Literature in the GDR" in which he profiles Doctor Sigrid Kleinmichel, senior scientific associate of the Institute of Literary History of the GDR Academy of Sciences, who has been conducting research on Uzbek Soviet literature for a number of years. Kleinmichel studied in the Soviet Union, where she completed the Turkology program of the Department of Oriental Studies at Leningrad State University in 1961. Since that time she has published many articles on Uzbek literature in scientific journals in East Germany and elsewhere. She has visited Uzbekistan several times and met with Uzbek authors and scholars. Recently, she was a guest of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences while gathering material for a monograph on Uzbek Soviet literature in the 1920's and 1930's.

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

### IZVESTIYA POLLS READERS ON CONSUMER SERVICES

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 87 p 3

[Article under rubric "Response": "Man and the Services Sphere: The Opinion of IZVESTIYA Readers About Problems in the Services Sphere and How They Have Been Treated on the Pages of Our Newspaper"]

[Text] Just try to list mentally your everyday concerns and you will probably be surprised at how much our life depends upon the services sphere. Our newspaper has devoted a rather large number of articles to the problems that arise in this regard. How have the readers of IZVESTIYA evaluated them, what shortcomings in the operation of the service enterprises and institutions do people perceive as being the most critical ones, and what wishes have they expressed to the editorial office?

In order to obtain the answers to those questions, a special sociological study was carried out, at IZVESTIYA's request, by scientists at the Center for Studying Public Opinion, Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences. A poll was conducted among residents of Arkhangelsk, Vladimir, Kostroma, Kuybyshev, Moscow, and Perm Oblasts, as well as Chuvash ASSR.

#### Let's Begin With Self-Criticism

The first conclusion that must be made by the editorial office on the basis of the data that was received is one which, we must honestly confess, is not very pleasant, but which obviously is justified: the level of illumination of the problems in the services sphere on the pages of IZVESTIYA does not satisfy our readers.

Only every fourth person surveyed stated that the questions raised in the articles that were mentioned in the sociologists' questionnaire pertain to him personally. But almost 52 percent of the persons surveyed stated that, to their knowledge of the situation in the services sphere, the articles published in IZVESTIYA could not add anything new. It is necessary to consider the fact that the services sphere is an area with which each of us is familiar from his own personal experience and, consequently, a journalistic analysis of its operation must be distinguished by an especially profound knowledge of the material, and that apparently is something that our articles have lacked.

It is typical that most of the readers, when filling out the sociologists' questionnaire, mentioned topics which, in their opinion, the newspaper ought to consider first of all.

Here, for example, are some of the recommendations. "It is necessary to have more complete mechanization of everyday operations in the home, especially in the kitchen. I feel the greatest fatigue as a result of my household chores," Leningrad engineer V. Svirin wrote.

Arkhangelsk construction worker A. Undozerov wrote, "You should write about extortion in the transportation agency. Before accepting a work order here, people ask you, 'Have you made an agreement with the driver?'"

Kishinev fitter Lyudmila Karush wrote, "The newspaper does not write very much about the municipal services sphere. Its operation has deteriorated a lot. The simplest repair in the apartment or the driveway has become a problem."

Moscow finance-agency worker A. Krupko wrote, "For the working housewife the most important thing is to know that, in the evening, she will be able to find the groceries she needs in the stores, and also to extend the stores' operating hours, as they have been in Prague. You wrote correctly about this in the article 'A Store Close to Home.'"

B. Rubenchik, Moscow, says, "You should write about what the personal services system is doing to make sure that people can use its services without asking for time off from work."

Vilnius methods analyst I. Vaynberg writes, "Bring the problems that have been raised to their conclusion, to their resolution. Criticize unmercifully those officials who have not been fulfilling their duties."

Vitebsk designer N. Baykov writes, "Devote your attention to the living conditions of the original residents of the old parts of the cities."

"I'm tired of reading about problems of everyday life," writes an engineer-programmer from Karaganda who did not give his name on the questionnaire. "What I would like is, finally, to see some changes for the better."

The advice that the editorial office has received from the readers has shown that a gap exists in illuminating the social sphere in the rural areas. Whereas city dwellers recommend devoting attention to specific aspects of their everyday cares, the rural inhabitants basically have just one request -- face up directly to the acute problems in everyday rural life.

#### Sore Spots in the Services Sphere

This is a surprising feature of the answers that IZVESTIYA readers gave to the sociologists' questions: people become acclimated to going without those services and institutions in the social sphere which exist only for the purpose of serving the public.

Among the persons surveyed by the sociologists, 58.6 percent never take advantage of such a service as apartment cleaning.

Among our readers, 45.7 percent do not send their clothes to the laundry; 22.1 percent avoid dry-cleaning services; 50.4 percent do not want to deal with automobile repair services; 55.5 percent prefer to build their own garden sheds themselves; 43.5 percent of the owners of private plots do not deal with garden-produce acceptance stations; and 33.6 percent of the city dwellers consider it useless to try to get help from the ZhK [building committee or DZ [building management]. Certain readers manage even to do without the services of the barbershop, post office, and savings bank, but there are not many of them. As for most of the services that city and rural dwellers do take advantage of, they get a low evaluation. And the most frequently mentioned low-quality service is the poor selection of glass utensils. And to sum it up, the participants in the survey remarked that the official value of the services and the total amount of actual payment by no means always coincide. In other words the services sphere, in addition to everything else, has been cheating its customers.

An opinion of the survey participants which is especially alarming is the one concerning the work of the public health establishments. A recommendation concerning the need to improve the work conditions at the clinic where they receive treatment was expressed by most of those surveyed (86.5 percent). Among those surveyed, 74.8 percent stated that they had been forced, for various reasons, to use the services of paid physicians or medical aides whom they know. The low level of medical services to a certain degree devalues such an important social gain as free public health services.

The fact that the services sphere is completely divorced from the public's real demands was confirmed by a test that was given to our readers. The sociologists asked the survey participants to whom they would go for help -- to private individuals or to official institutions -- if they had to have various services or jobs performed: change their apartment, have stylish clothing custom-made, furnish their apartment or summer home, sell something, repair a car, find a babysitter, find a household helper, consult a doctor, plow up a private plot, transport heavy articles, store up a supply of fuel for the winter, or build a home or garage.

It was only for the purpose of consulting a doctor that most of the survey participants preferred using the services of an official medical institution. In resolving all the other everyday problems, our readers feel that they must rely on their own efforts, and on the help that can be provided by their friends, their coworkers, or other private individuals.

This picture characterizes not only the lack of development of the social sphere, but also the half-hearted, unself-interested operation of the enterprises and institutions in the service system. Are we really to believe, for example, that the personal services sphere does not have enough shops in operation where people could get custom-made clothing? No, it is obvious that the quality of the work performed by the tailors there is such that only 23.8

percent of the persons surveyed feel that they can get their money's worth there. The overwhelming majority prefer the services of the "private individual."

Just read this letter and you will understand why this is happening.

"In 1985, at our Elegant Personal Services Home," reader O. Razumova writes from Chuguyev, Kharkov Oblast, "we decided to have an overcoat made for our daughter (size 48, height II). When we got the coat, we gasped: our daughter was literally drowned in it. We had to sell it. The woman who bought it is size 52, height V."

"For a long time after that, we didn't have anything to do with Elegant, but in December last year we had to take some shoes there to be repaired. They took a deposit of 1.5 rubles for the work and issued us receipt No. 262411, dated 10 December 1986. When we got the shoes back, the heels had not been repaired. The woman who had accepted the job said that the shoe repair men could not replace the heels, and told me to have a private individual do it. I was surprised at that turn of events and I went to see the director of the Personal Services Home. He sent me to the shoe repair man, and the shoe repair man advised me, 'Take your shoes to Kharkov.'

"I didn't go to Kharkov because it's too far away and because, during the day, I work just like everyone does, and my days off coincide with the days that the Kharkov repair shops are closed. I went to the private individual whose address had been given to me at Elegant, and now I have heels on my shoes. But I am troubled by the question: why is it that an entire Personal Services Home, with a director, a chief engineer, repair men, and service personnel, is incapable doing something that one solitary 'Uncle Vasya' is capable of doing? Why, then, do we need this big, beautiful Elegant, with its glass windows?"

The lag between the services sphere and the other branches of the national economy has had a detrimental effect on the standard of living of Soviet citizens. Take, for example, municipal services. As was shown by the survey, a considerable number of the public are still lacking many utilities at their place of residence. The state of the municipal economy can also be judged from the fact that during 1986 every third inhabitant was forced to direct his requests and complaints dealing with questions of municipal services to various higher administrative echelons.

The problem that causes the largest number of complaints from people is the condition of building entrances. The inhabitants feels that they are dirty, cold, and poorly illuminated. The problem that is in second place among the complaints is the heating system and hot-water supply.

IZVESTIYA readers put in one of the first places with regard to acuteness the question of the operation of public transportation -- not only in the cities, but also in rural localities. Almost all of us begin our day in public transportation, and, as a rule, we also end it that way. As has been demonstrated by the results of the survey, of those who are employed in social production, only 1.6 do not use public transportation. As you can see, this segment of the population is not large, and thus one can conclude that all of

us, whether we like it or not, are passengers. But only 28.8 percent of the persons surveyed have currently pointed out that, while en route to their place of work, they spend less than 15 minutes. Approximately 40 percent of the people are forced to spend more than half an hour en route; 10.3 percent spend up to an hour; and the rest of the people spend even more.

The sociologists asked the survey participants to express their opinion about how the operation of transportation has changed during the past year; 37.2 percent felt that there had been no changes for the better.

#### Where We Become Tired

Fatigue can be both the first warning that it is necessary to rebuild one's physical forces, and a symptom of an oncoming illness. What is the factor that promotes the onset of fatigue most of all? Naturally, work. In any case that is what we have become accustomed to thinking. However, in the course of the survey, only 39.2 percent of the readers mentioned this reason. Many, but by no means all of the persons surveyed -- 33.1 percent -- consider the reason for their fatigue the need to run errands to the various stores, standing in line, and the search for various articles and food products. And the things that they are seeking are by no means items that are in short supply, but, rather, items that one calls the necessities of life.

It is interesting that 10.7 percent of the persons surveyed mentioned as the reason for their fatigue work in their private plot or orchard. This included almost everyone who has a plot like that. This leads one to the obvious conclusion that the income from a private plot should by no means be considered unearned income.

Of course, the sociologists were mostly interested in those reasons for fatigue which result from the abnormal operation of the services sphere. For example, 15.3 percent of the survey participants mentioned as the basic reason for their fatigue the unjustified concerns that arose as a result of the poor quality of the repair carried out on the household appliances, the failure of service organizations to meet the promised deadlines, and repeated trips to the shop. Just think what happens: the technical means that have become part of our life in order to make it easier, become a household calamity for people when they have a low reliability and operate poorly, that is, they become the very opposite of what they are supposed to be. And what about such an ordinary household appliance as the telephone? One would think that it is our assistant in all our affairs and is incapable of tiring its owner. Nevertheless, no less than 5.7 percent of the persons surveyed mentioned the fatigue caused by telephone communication. The reason is the poor operation of the ATS [dial system], the unreliability of old designs of telephone sets, and the low efficiency of communication with the aid of the telephone.

How does one get rid of the tension and fatigue that build up by the end of the day in each of us? As everyone knows, if a person has free time, physical exercise and sports are a means of relaxing. However, it was ascertained that no more than 30.3 percent of the persons surveyed can engage in physical exercises or sport games close to home or work. Only 12.5 percent of the persons surveyed had ever heard about various clubs or sections under the ZhK

or DZ. Many cannot devote their free time to sport or physical culture simply because there are no facilities nearby -- no clubs, no stadium, no sports section. And only a very small percentage of the persons surveyed mentioned lack of interest in sports or having too many other things to do as a reason.

That is, people do indeed have an attraction to active recreation. And the benefit from that would be indisputable. The comprehensive program for commodities and services recommends, in this area of the services sphere, the development not only of the traditional services, but also of new ones, and the increasing of the number of recuperative centers and physical-culture and health centers at people's place of residence. Places such as that must be available for anyone who wants to improve his health and remove the fatigue that has accumulated during the day. But, if one is to judge from the results of the survey, practically speaking this work has not yet been begun.

In ending this overview, we want to thank IZVESTIYA readers for their active participation in the discussion of the services sphere. The editorial office now has a better idea of the problems that can be called succinctly "man and the services sphere" and will be able to strive more actively to eliminate from our life those undesirable situations that we all encounter in our everyday life.

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CSO: 1800/299

SOCIAL ISSUES

READER DECRIMS CHILD CARE COST INEQUITIES

Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Dec 86 p 1

[Letter to the editor from N. Lyubkina, Krivoi Rog, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast: "Not for the Sake of Profit"]

[Text] When I put my son in kindergarten I ran into this fact: the larger the parents' salary, the more they pay. Even though we have to pay the maximum, I don't consider it large. I know that my son is in a warm place, in good surroundings, not deprived of attention, fed at the right time, and provided with everything he needs at his age. Those seventeen rubles which we pay are not too much money for everything our son needs.

I am talking about something completely different. It's like this: if my husband is hard-working and we are well-provided for materially, then they take even more from us. Why? Because my husband earns good money? But what prevents others from working and earning what he does?

I know one family (they live next to us). They're both under thirty. They have three children and, of course, there are privileges connected with this. The husband is serving a sentence for the third time for parasitism. The wife works as an orderly in a hospital. Their children receive their kindergarten education free of charge. Why? He doesn't pay her child support--our neighbor didn't hand in the documents. She says she doesn't want to be disgraced on account of these kopecks; the state supports her children, and the trade union still gives her extra as an underprivileged person. What kind of merits these are, I don't understand. Why isn't there some law that makes a good-for-nothing-father pay for kindergarten like everyone else? These "kopecks," as this neighbor woman says, could even add up to five to ten rubles a month. He'd at least remember that his children are being fed and looked after.

My husband is a fisherman; he's at sea for a half a year at a time, town away from his family, and next door live healthy fellows who work where the salary doesn't exceed one hundred rubles. In the summer they work on tending their watermelon patches. They earn more money there (I'm not saying that it's unearned, it's earned) and these "underprivileged" pay half as much for their child's kindergarten as people like us do. Can this really be fair?

And this same neighbor who doesn't want to work will continue to be a drone, since he is certain that even without him his children have everything (even if no more than in his presence). Why is it so?

Furthermore, in my opinion, regardless how much the mother earns, the children of a single mother should be supported free of charge, as well as children whose parents serve in the army, and those who, due to their health, cannot earn more than the minimum wage established by the state. For the difference in pay (between minimum and maximum) I would agree to help the single mother, because she was not afraid of difficulties and prejudices, and gave life to her child. It is even imperative that she, this mother, be helped.

But as far as those drones like my neighbor are concerned, don't let the state or us put out money for them; let him earn his keep with his own hands.

13174/7687  
CSO: 1830/207

SOCIAL ISSUES

RSFSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON CHITA OBLAST ALCOHOLISM CAMPAIGN

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Nov 86 p 3

[Article under rubric "Considered at the RSFSR Council of Ministers": "'A Drunkard's Coupon' in the Sobriety Zone"]

[Text] Recently SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published several items about the fact that in Chita Oblast the work of overcoming drunkenness and alcoholism is being carried out without the proper consistency or persistence, but with great misrepresentation and distortion. A broad check carried out on instructions of the RSFSR Council of Ministers has shown that the shortcomings noted by the newspaper in the fulfillment of the anti-alcohol legislation are, on the whole, typical of the activity of the Chita Oblast soviet, administrative, and economic organs.

When the report from the Chita Oblast ispolkom was being considered at a session of the Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, it was noted that a healthy, sober way of life in the oblast is being established slowly and drunkenness continues to be widespread.

At the Nerchinskptitsemash Plant, the Shikla Railroad Car Roundhouse, PMK-93 [Mobile Mechanized Column No. 93], the Darasun Mining Equipment Plant, the Baleyzoloto Combine, and many other enterprises, the number of workers abusing alcoholic beverages has not been decreasing. The number of persons suffering from alcoholism has been increasing. Instances of drunkenness on the job have not been eliminated. At the present time more than 2000 persons, including 90 administrators, have been brought to administrative responsibility for such violations. The number of drivers who have been detained for driving when intoxicated is one-third larger than last year. Approximately a thousand persons who were engaging in producing illegal alcoholic beverages were located. For having violated the anti-alcohol legislation, more than 30,000 persons were brought to responsibility, and more than 17,000 persons were taken to the sobering-up station. To a considerable extent these things are responsible for the major losses of work time in industry and construction.

Of course, the negative statistics that have been cited attest, on the one hand, to the fact that the soviet and administrative institutions in the oblast have become more decisive and franker, and have begun, without hushing things up, to reveal and to register instances of drunkenness and alcoholism.

On the other hand, the revelation of the actual condition indicates how serious the tasks are and what forceful actions they require of the local agencies of authority and the social organizations. What, then, is the position of the Chita Oblast ispolkom and the city and rayon soviets?

A memorandum submitted to the government and signed by oblispolkom chairman G. Popov lists in detail the anti-alcohol measures that were carried out. The question was discussed at nine sessions of the rayon and city soviets, at 35 ispolkom sessions, and at 1000 citizen rallies. One thousand three hundred seventy-six antidrunkenness commissions were formed, and dozens of conferences and seminars were conducted. Local organizations of the All-Union Volunteer Society of the Struggle for Sobriety were created, and those organizations number 30,500 persons. There has been a reduction of more than half in the sale of alcoholic beverages. The liqueur and vodka plant has been closed. The network of narcological institutions and stations has been expanding. There has been an increase in the anti-alcohol propaganda and the organization of people's recreational time has been improving. A statistical-informational approach to the situation was also revealed by first deputy oblispolkom chairman V. Epov, who gave an oral report. However, the number of measures did not have a favorable effect upon introducing sobriety and improving the way of life in Chita Oblast. Why has the efficiency of the measures to combat drunkenness and alcoholism been so low?

The reason lies primarily in the fact that the oblast administrators at first took a half-hearted position. They gave themselves the task not of overcoming drunkenness, but of "introducing order into the consumption of wine and vodka products." In the oblast center and a number of other cities, instead of an unambiguous presentation of the question for discussion by labor collectives, a recommendation was made to conduct the sale of vodka on the basis of coupons. An entire system was developed, including the printing of the coupons, their distribution by way of the soviet agencies to the enterprises, and the compilation of lists of "worthy individuals" in the labor collectives. The vodka coupons were turned into a kind of incentive device: if you work well, you get them, but if you violate production or social order, you will be deprived of your vodka bonus. Exactly one year ago in an article entitled "Coupons... For Vodka" (26 November 1985) our newspaper criticized this practice. However, this kind of independence existed several more months, and it was not until the interference of the directive agencies that the "drunkard's coupons" began to be taken out of circulation ("Drunkard's Coupon," 12 November 1986).

The following example was cited at a session at the Council of Ministers. At a machine-building plant that employs approximately 800 persons, the vodka coupons were issued to more than 700 workers, beginning with the director, the party organization secretary, and other economic and social administrators. No one refused them. Forty-three persons were deprived of their "vodka ration." That approach, according to statements made at a government session, can be called, with complete justification, political thoughtlessness and a detrimental distortion of the forms of psychological and material incentive.

The formal approach, the half-hearted attitude, and the connivance frequently did nothing but discredit the proclaimed slogans and intentions. For example,

Zabaykalskiy Rayon was declared a sobriety zone. However, with the authorization of the chairman of the rayon union of consumer cooperatives, in the third quarter almost 90,000 rubles' worth of alcoholic beverages were sold there. Moreover, the wine and vodka products were even sold through stores selling manufactured and household commodities and from mobile shops. It is not surprising that in the "sobriety zone" there was a doubling in the amount of street crime. Most of the crimes were committed while the person was in a drunken condition. Hundreds of persons were brought to responsibility for violations of the anti-alcohol legislation. And yet all of this occurred within the sight of the administrators of the soviet agencies, who occupied a conciliatory position. Similar situations occurred in other "sobriety zones."

After criticism in the central press and strict critical comments made by the commissions that conducted the check, the Chita Oblast administrators reconsidered their previous position and took a more rigid anti-alcohol course. However, one continues to observe the predominance of prohibitory, legal-administrative measures which, in and of themselves, are not yet forming a healthy and sober climate. After reducing by one-half the sale of alcoholic beverages here, the people here proved to be unready to replace them with commodities and services that would be beneficial for the public. The financial losses are being compensated by less than one-third. And yet the production of consumer goods, as compared with last year, has even been noticeably reduced. The public's demand for culinary and confectionery articles, mineral water, and ice cream is not being satisfied. The rate at which the public is provided with generally accessible public-nutrition enterprises is one-third of the well-substantiated norms. Very poor use is being made of the reserves for supplementing the food funds by drawing on local reserves. The consumer cooperative system purchases surplus livestock from the rural population at a rate that is one-fourth the existing capabilities. The assignment for the purpose of meat for sale on a commission basis has been fulfilled by the cooperatives by only one-half, although meat products in the oblast are included in the category of scarce items.

The complete check revealed a depressing picture of a lag in the social and everyday development of Chita Oblast over a period of many years. One of the main reasons has been the passivity of the soviet agencies. The budgetary-finance strategy was confined to income from the sale of wine and vodka products. Therefore the production of other edible and manufactured commodities and the system of providing everyday services to the public were assigned secondary roles, and were in a neglected state. The state funds allocated for the development of the social spheres were used extremely poorly. For that reason during the past ten years the workers failed to receive approximately 25,000 apartments. All the indicators for satisfying the public's cultural and everyday needs are much lower than the average for the RSFSR. Analysis indicates that the reorientation of the soviet agencies to the accelerated development of the material base for the everyday, cultural, and sports sphere has been occurring slowly, and this has been making the fight against drunkenness and alcoholism relatively ineffective. It was revealed that even now the oblast administrators have not yet completely reconsidered their positions. Deputy oblispolkom chairman V. Epov attempted to start a discussion about allocating to Chita additional resources of high-grade alcohols for the production of expensive grades of vodka. In

his opinion that would make it possible to correct the commodity-turnover indicators. That approach evoked sharp censure.

In the statement made by the administrators of the Chita oblispolkom and the oblast administration of internal affairs, one could hear pessimistic notes rather clearly: "we've goofed," there has been a tremendous amount of neglect, and therefore it is difficult to expect any rapid changes for the better. And yet the oblast has examples in which the correct comprehensive approach has made it possible to achieve a major turning point in short periods of time. For example, in Borzinskiy Rayon, the gorsovet and raysovets ispolkoms not only reduced the sale of wines and vodka, but also carried out a broad offensive against drunkenness and its undesirable consequences, and are carrying out an alternative social program. Five narcological laboratories have been opened here. Three cafes that serve no alcoholic beverages are in operation. There has been a five-fold increase in the number of small-scale retail-sales outlets. Two building-materials stores have been opened. The activity of the young people's sports school has been expanded. Women's councils and parent committees have rallied together against drunkenness. There has been an 18-percent increase in the number of persons attending movie theaters. And, of course, this pressure is causing the evil to abate. But something strange is the fact that at the oblispolkom, for some reason, no attention is being taken to this good experience.

The Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers has noted that the administrators of the Chita oblispolkom and the local soviets have been working insufficiently to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism, and have been underestimating its undesirable consequences. There has not always been a sharp reaction to incidents of drunkenness, alcoholism, narcotics addiction, or the making of illegal alcoholic beverages. Educational and preventive work is being conducted poorly in the labor collectives and at people's places of residence. Having made serious demands on the Chita oblispolkom, the republic government has required the local soviets to carry out a fundamental restructuring of the entire anti-alcohol policy and to undertake effective comprehensive measures to establish a sober and healthy way of life.

It has also been proposed, in July 1987, that they report on the results of their work to fulfill the governmental decree.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

KUYBYSHEV TRUCKS MAY TRANSPORT PRIVATE LOADS WHEN EMPTY

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by G. Podlesskikh: "'Illegal' Freight? No, It's Completely Legal"]

[Text] The Crux of the Problem

Among our everyday cares we frequently have to rely on transportation services. Some people have to have firewood or coal hauled, others must have building materials brought out to their summer cottage or must have their produce taken from their private plot to market. Yes, there are many situations in life when you absolutely need a vehicle. And it is here that we frequently encounter large difficulties. Previously a "moonlighter" would come to your rescue -- obviously, in exchange for a nice bribe. But now, when payment for any "unofficial" freight is considered to be the driver's unearned income and is subject to criminal action, the trucks dash along empty, regardless of how many people along the road are trying to hitch a ride. And in the transport agencies the lines are so long that it is impossible to push your way through. How, then, is a person supposed to have his things conveyed by the necessary deadline and without any nervous anxiety? In his report "'Illegal'" Freight? No, It's Completely Legal," V. Pogodin, chairman of the Kuybyshev oblispolkom, mentioned that in that oblast every driver, when starting out on a trip, receives two trip tickets. One is for hauling freight for the national economy. The second one, which is not filled out, is issued to provide for the situation in which the driver, returning with an empty vehicle, picks up a rider with baggage. The payment for the service is made strictly on the basis of a price list. Half the proceeds goes to the driver, and the other half goes into the enterprise's cashbox. In this way, in the opinion of the administrators of Kuybyshev Oblast, it is possible, on the one hand, to improve the transportation services provided to the public, and, on the other hand, to discontinue the self-seeking actions of the "moonlighter" drivers. A large number of letters have come in to the editorial office in response to that article.

The Readers' Opinion

V. Podoshennyy, Sovetskaya Gavan, Khabarovsk Kray: "It is obvious that the Kuybyshev oblispolkom is operating creatively. Its example should be introduced everywhere as soon as possible! Because actually, since the

publication of the Ukase for combatting unearned income, it has become an unresolvable task to have one's harvest hauled from a summer cottage or vegetable garden, or to have some purchase hauled from a store." V. Skachikho, Pushkino: "The situation that has developed today is that the transport agencies are incapable of satisfying the public's vital needs for freight shipments. Whereas fuel and furniture can still be hauled by ordering a truck at the transport agency, this method cannot be used for shipping agricultural produce from one's private plot to the market." S. Lyamin, Chita: "I'm doing my own construction and there's no way that I can do without transport. This is the reason why I've been engaged in construction for more than seven years! When the base has the building materials that I need, it's impossible to find transport. And then, when you do get a truck, the base doesn't have what you need. That's why I'm concerned. As for whether the driver will take the money from me and hide some of the proceeds, that's useless. I myself will not carry my freight with a trip ticket that has not been filled in, because if I did, the inspectors might confiscate it and then just try to leave!" Others adhering to that opinion are V. Alekseyev, Sverdlovsk; I. Marchenko, Bryansk; N. Sitnikov, Golitsyn; P. Gorkayev, Naro-Fominsk; and others.

However, a rather large number of readers who sent letters to the editorial office have not accepted the Kuybyshev initiative and do not believe in it. T. Dvorchenco, Chita: "In essence, they propose legalizing a loophole by which the drivers can receive unearned income. The driver himself will fill out the second trip ticket and he won't refuse to take that half of the proceeds, plus a little extra 'grease.' And whoever does not agree to pay something in addition to the price list will just stand there on the road with his sacks of potatoes or his baskets of fruit. The second trip ticket will only help the driver to come out unscathed." V. Cherkasov, settlement of Miloslavskoye, Ryazan Oblast: "V. Pogodin, chairman of the Kuybyshev oblispolkom, is wrong when he states that the driver helps to load and unload the baggage and is responsible for its intactness. Where has he ever seen this? It is also naive to put one's hopes on inspections by the GAI [State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate]. The customer will never tell the inspector how much he was actually asked to pay." A. Pundik, Topka, Kemerovo Oblast: "The people in Kuybyshev have demonstrated their own impotence and have failed to take any real measures to introduce order into freight shipments for the public. It may be that the lines in front of the windows at the transport agencies will become shorter, but the drivers' pockets will immediately begin to bulge. And as a result the shipment of freight for the national economy will suffer. It is necessary to stop this experiment immediately." That opinion is shared by L. Chebanyuk, Astrakhan; A. Babakin, Gorkiy; and others.

#### The Minister's Explanations

Our correspondent conducted an interview with Yu. S. Sukhin, RSFSR Minister of Motor Transport. He said:

It's an acute problem. However, I want to say immediately that our task consists in organizing the situation in such a way that there is no need to look for transport that happens to be going your way. It is necessary to have a well-run system for providing motor transport services. That system must

guarantee all the citizens' personal needs, must preclude any random situations, and must operate in strict conformity with the legal documents. We have in mind primarily the traditional system of transport-dispatching services, which we are doing everything to develop. For example, this year alone 234 receiving stations in excess of plan were opened at stores and bases involved in the sale of building materials. Twice as many of them were organized than the number stipulated. That made it possible, in particular, to increase the fuel shipments by a factor of 1.3, and the shipments of building materials by a factor of 1.5.

But nevertheless this is obviously insufficient. Here is a typical example. Recently the USSR People's Control Committee undertook the following action. Its workers got in touch with the transport agencies and receiving stations in the Moscow area, in order to reserve a vehicle for Friday. The workers said that the store had told them that it could sell them a garden shed on that day. One agency refused politely, but the others refused to accept the order, and in addition used crude language. As for the deadlines, the best one could hope for in ordering a vehicle was two weeks, but as a rule it was a month. Who could find that kind of situation acceptable?

However, there is no need to place one's hopes on the Kuybyshev initiative. The correctness of the readers who had doubts about its effectiveness has been confirmed by a commission of USSR Gosplan, RSFSR Gosplan, and RSFSR Ministry of Motor Transport, which, soon after the publication of "Illegal" Freight? "No, It's Completely Legal," made an inspection trip to Kuybyshev. The experiment being conducted there, in essence, farms out the state transport to the drivers. It will inevitably lead to a situation in which the second trip ticket will become the basic one for them.

[Question] What, then, has been restraining the more intensive development of transport-dispatching services for the public?

[Answer] First of all, the acute shortage of specialized rolling stock. And we mean primarily small-sized trucks, trucks with increased cross-country capabilities, dump trucks, vans with a compartment for freight loaders and fork lifts, motorbuses for hauling freight and passengers, and pickups. There is a complete lack of vehicles with loading and unloading devices, which vehicles are especially necessary for hauling building materials.

[Question] If this is so, why, then, is no use being made of transport that happens to be going in the direction the person wants to go?

[Question] It is, indeed, being used. Minavtotrans [Ministry of Motor Transport] has worked out a regulation. Requisition-receipts are issued to the driver for one trip ticket. Payment is made according to the price list. The driver's wages are increased by 25 percent.

[Question] The readers doubt that the driver will haul them for only half the proceeds, without asking for much more in addition.

[Answer] Speaking honestly, I do not have any great conviction about that myself. Moreover, in any serious matter it is better not to rely on something

that is based on random factors. Because we are talking about the hauling of fuel, agricultural produce, building materials, and other kinds of freight. And if one puts his reliance here on transport which just happens to be going in the direction one wants to go, and which also has to be induced to stop, then this is simply insignificant. That is why, in addition to the development of the traditional system of transport-dispatching services, we attach very great importance to the decision that has been made to carry out on Saturdays and Sundays, in the entire territory of the republic, days for providing transport services to the public. Let me emphasize that this will be with the unlimited acceptance of requests for motor-transport services, with the allocation of the necessary rolling stock, and the involvement of all the available loading and unloading machinery. We cannot get along without the active support from the local agencies of authority, because it is planned to give broad notification to the public, to organize work on those days by stores, warehouses, bases... On its part, Minavtotrans has issued an order that makes the administrators of all the territorial associations of motor transport personally responsible for guaranteeing the carrying out of such transport days and for taking into consideration the satisfying of the public's freight-hauling needs to be not only a very important production task, but also a very important political task.

In order to indicate the acceleration that is provided by this step, I would like to cite only one example. On Saturday and Sunday, 22 and 23 November, the Solnechnogorsk Transport-Dispatching Agency served a number of customers, the execution of whose requests for transport on ordinary workdays would have required two weeks. In a word, this measure will make it possible to eliminate the waiting lines for the delivery of fuel, building materials, and all other kinds of freight.

[Question] How widespread is your initiative?

[Answer] One of the first obispolkoms to respond to the proposal made by RSFSR Minavtotrans was the Moscow obispolkom, which, in a time-responsive manner, held a conference with all the interested organizations and required them to engage in this important work. The work has been organized well in Rostov, Saratov, Orenburg, Lipetsk, and other oblasts.

[Question] Yuriy Sergeyevich, you have been speaking about the effectiveness of the new measure. However, the specific topic selected for our discussion was the critical shortage of motor-transport services. There are waiting lines at the transport agencies, for example, in the very same Moscow area we have been discussing, and people have to wait practically a month.

[Answer] But we have only just begun. And everyone does not yet know that on the days for providing transport services it is possible, without any difficulty, to resolve all the problems with the hauling of freight. I think that it is incorrect to limit oneself to the publishing of announcements in the local newspapers concerning the conducting of such transport days. It is necessary to discuss who has begun operating, and how. And it is necessary not to conduct this discussion not behind tightly closed office doors, but on newspaper pages and on television screens. People must know by sight those who are not concerned about their most vital needs. For example, Minister

Sukhin has been required to provide such and such a number of trucks. And you can rest assured that I will provide them. Our administrators in the outlying areas will be held most strictly accountable if they prove to be not on top of the situation. But that responsibility must also be borne by those who have loading and unloading equipment at their disposal, who are responsible for stores, depots, bases, sand quarries... And it must proceed that way along the entire chain. The republic has at its disposal such a quantity of transport, including departmental transport, that people's ordeals when hauling freight are completely unjustified. The entire blame here lies in the lack of organization, in indifference and inertia. And behind all of this stands a specific official -- with a first name and a last name. And it is necessary to hold him personally responsible.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

TWO MORE EMIGRES RETURN TO USSR, DISGUSTED WITH WEST

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 86 p 4

[Article by Viktor Magidson, under rubric "Myths and the Reality of the 'Free World'": "The Truth About 'Split' Families"]

[Text] A month and a half ago the Novosti News Agency arranged a meeting between Moscow-accredited Western correspondents and Soviet journalists.

The essence of one of the questions that I was asked by an American colleague came down to the following: what is the reason why, during the postwar years, a rather large number of Soviet citizens have left the Soviet Union, to go to Israel and other countries?

It was impossible to give one all-encompassing answer to that question. Every person represents a special fate. Each of the persons who left had his or her own reasons for taking such a serious step. The people who left included those who were seeking in Israel those who were near and dear to them, whom they had lost during World War II... I knew, for example, an old person who, following his religion, definitely wanted to die in Jerusalem... Those who left also included those who simply did not like our way of life, and so they found "relatives" in Israel... But, obviously, the majority was made up of those who had decided that it was precisely in the West, in the "free world," that they would be able to realize their capabilities most completely. And to receive accordingly.

As a rule, the fates of those who left the Soviet Union turned out tragically. Because those people, as they departed for the "free world," did not think for even one fleeting moment that, to employ the expression used in the NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, "the streets here are not paved with gold, and the mattresses are not stuffed full of dollars..."

I told my American colleague that in all these human tragedies, we journalists also share the blame. The Western journalists because they show, as a rule, only the slick shop-window facade of the "free world," and only the "streets paved with gold." And Soviet journalists because we apparently write very little and unconvincingly about the Western way of life and about the obvious (could this be the reason why we mention them less frequently than we should?) advantages that the socialist way of life has over the capitalist...

No one objected to what I said: actually, the overwhelming majority of those who left had absolutely no idea of what was awaiting them in the West, whether it was the United States of America or Israel...

One "newly former" person, a certain I. Regina, wrote from New York to her friends in Moscow: "You will, of course, be most interested in the fates of the emigres. As my Sasha said, 'If I did not have any hope for anything ahead of me, I would have hanged myself.' Of course, certain individuals do break through, but they, of course, constitute only one percent..." I. Regina, according to her account, had decided to break through "in the sphere of apartment sales and rental." Has she really broken through?

I also know from letters the fate, for example, of two people who recently moved to Israel -- Leonid Zelkind ("specialist in legal aspects and in computer technology," as he described himself) and Candidate of Historical Sciences Leonid Praysman. Neither one of them could manage to find himself a job in his specialty in his new location. Both of them -- because of the lack of any other opportunity -- have been making a living by slandering the life of Soviet citizens and, by the sweat of their brow, have been earning their "pieces of silver." And although each of these "formers" quietly curses his fate and his life in Israel (as I have learned from my Moscow friends), when they turned up in front of the microphones at Voice of Israel and other similar radio stations, both Leonids, gulping for breath, try to outrace one another in describing the charms of the "free world," assuring Soviet Jews that there, in the countries of "true democracy," they will fight day and night for their rights!

But, nevertheless, does that "one percent" that I. Regina writes about hopefully, really exist?

At the international Sheremetyevo-2 airport, a group of us journalists met a plane that was arriving from the United States of America. Two people who now are "former Americans" -- Yuriy Arkadyevich Chapovskiy and Rauza Shamsivaliyevna Timergaliyeva -- were returning to Moscow on that plane.

I saw the interview with Yuriy Chapovskiy that was recently broadcast on Soviet television on the program "The Camera Looks At the World," which is conducted by writer Genrikh Borovik. Everything in that interview led one to believe that that young, educated person should have been able, with complete justification for doing so, to count on fitting completely into those American standards and becoming part of that longed-for "one percent."

We talked with Yuriy Chapovskiy at the airport, and continued that conversation with him the next day.

They had left Kiev eight years ago -- 19-year-old Yuriy, who had recently completed his second year at Kiev Polytechnical Institute, his young brother Valeriy, his parents... They had left, according to Yuriy, on their own initiative.

"I must admit that I did not have any special motivations for leaving," Yu.

Chapovskiy recalls. "But my parents felt that, even though there are no problems here in the Soviet Union, life would be even better in the United States... We left in response to an Israeli invitation that we received from a distant relative... No, we had never seen her previously. And during all the years of her life in Atlanta, no one had ever heard anything about her..."

In Atlanta Yuriy Chapovskiy was able to continue his education -- at the Georgia Institute of Technology. At first he received there a bachelor's degree in the school of electrical engineering, and then, after taking a special mathematics course, a master's degree. Then he left for a two-year period, to go to Strassbourg, France, to write his dissertation on mathematics.

Yuriy had to work all that time to pay for his education. First he was a dishwasher in a restaurant, and then he worked in a library, and still later in a geophysics laboratory. But after receiving the bachelor's degree, he began teaching a course on practical projects in mathematics at the Georgia Institute of Technology.

Studying and working -- what's so special about that? Many American students do not even guess that the situation can be anything different. As time went by, Yuriy himself began to forget how he used to take vacation trips -- not when he was living in Atlanta, but in Kiev -- to the Black Sea, to Leningrad, to Brest... And how, during those years, he never had to rack his brain about how he could earn money to pay for his education...

They bought a car -- an old Ford. Without a car it would have been impossible to continue his education or find a job. Atlanta has practically no public transportation, and so a person's own car is the sole means of getting around.

But Yuriy's parents found jobs comparatively quickly. The family was even able to buy themselves a home -- with a 30-year mortgage. The parents replaced the car with a newer one... It seemed that things were going well. In any case, they were going the way they go for most Americans in Atlanta -- they were accumulating things, were paying a bank loan, were working long hours, were discussing with their neighbors where various things could be bought more inexpensively, and where they could earn some more money in various ways... Then the company where the senior Chapovskiy worked closed. But that situation -- finding oneself suddenly without work, with the ground suddenly being taken from under one's feet -- is a completely ordinary situation for Americans. In a month or two, Yuriy's father managed to find a new job... Then his mother was dismissed... And, once again, the father was forced to find himself a new job... In a word, they were like everybody else. If you told any of their neighbors that there is a country where all of this is different, they would not believe you.

"They have chained themselves for their entire life," Yuriy says. "I cannot understand why, but with the passage of time this even became something that they liked... Or maybe they didn't? Or can it simply be that there were afraid of admitting their defeat?.. I knew people who did not even conceal the fact that they would like very much to return to the Soviet Union. But I

also knew people -- and there was a considerably larger number of them -- who were afraid to admit that desire even to themselves..."

What, then, had led Yu. Chapovskiy to make the decision to return to the Soviet Union? Because in America he had found a life that was "no worse than everyone else's".... This is how Yuriy explains the situation himself.

"This is almost impossible to explain to a person who has never lived here. For example, what is 'the Motherland'? For every individual, that concept is made up of those 'minor details' that you begin to sense only you have lost that Motherland... For example, I was always convinced that a person expresses himself through his work, through his labor. Of course, when I was lived in the Soviet Union I did not even think about that -- everything was completely obvious. But now we had all fallen into economic slavery. Labor in the United States cannot bring joy, because it is labor done for a boss. Therefore labor is understood by Americans only as the freedom to sell oneself. But in addition it is necessary for the boss to want to buy you... And if he does, then he will never worry about whether you are growing and developing as a specialist. No, the boss will be concerned only about having his company grow and develop..."

Yu. Chapovskiy feels that, if he had remained in the United States, he would have had no prospects as a specialist. Except that maybe he could go to one of the companies serving the military-industrial complex. His friends told him that he could find interesting work there and get promoted as a specialist.

"But I didn't want to make missiles that would then be aimed at the Soviet Union," Yuriy says. "Many Americans believe that it is necessary to keep arming oneself in order to prevent an attack by the Russians. They do not even guess that it is possible to think otherwise. When I tried to make them change their mind, I would usually be asked: "What are you, anyway? A Russian spy?" Incidentally, the questionnaire that I filled out at the institute included the question as to whether I was a Communist and whether I was providing material support to the Communist Party. Later on, when one of my new American acquaintances began telling me how religious persons are persecuted in the Soviet Union, I told him, "In any event, the situation with religion in the Soviet Union is considerably better than it is here with the Communists." True, I realized very quickly that it was best not to have any conversations at all like that..."

"Later, when I was in Strasbourg and was able to look at the recent years in my life, as it were, from the outside, I attempted to understand why, during all that time, I had never found a single friend among the Americans. Why had my friends in the institute been Italians, Spaniards, Arabs -- transplanted persons like myself? Why, finally, if any of us guys had married an American -- this is an almost improbable situation -- would that marriage invariably have broken apart almost immediately?"

Because, Yu. Chapovskiy feels, Americans -- or, at least, those whom he saw in Georgia -- talk only about themselves and think only about themselves. And they never listen to others: they are simply not interested in them. All

their dreams revolve around how they can sell themselves in the most profitable way, and their ideal is to earn a million dollars. According to Yuriy, it is impossible to become accustomed to that.

It was for that reason that, after looking around, he made the final decision: he had to do everything to reacquire a Motherland, since America would never become a motherland for him...

Interrupting his work on his dissertation, he hurries back to Atlanta and tells his parents about his decision... He begins to get involved in all the paperwork involving his return to the Soviet Union. He also tries to persuade his parents to follow his example. But they refuse and they accuse him (and, incidentally, it is an extremely just accusation) that it was he who had taken them out of Kiev eight years previously, that they could not begin life anew yet another time, and that his departure, finally, could have a very serious effect upon their status in Atlanta... Then there were more letters, telephone calls from various Zionist organizations, from newspapers, from acquaintances and half-acquaintances...

He flew into Moscow with practically no baggage, and with almost no money. "My capital is in my head and in my heart. I want to begin working as soon as possible, I want my mathematics, which I love very much, to be beneficial both to me and to other people. I will be happy if I am given a place in a dormitory... I am now completely assured about tomorrow, about my future..."

During the years that he spent in the United States, the first silvery strands appeared in his thick black curls. He fled from the America to which at one time he striven so hard to reach, and where he had managed to achieve -- according to philistine yardsticks -- quite a bit, or at least he managed to get into that "one percent"... He had already taken his first step on Soviet land. But he would still have to travel a long and difficult path in his actual return to his Motherland... And the young man apparently understands that.

Returning to Moscow on the same flight with Yu. Chapovskiy was R. Sh. Timergaliyeva... I listened to his story and I recalled how much the Western press likes to discuss the fates of "split families." Split, properly speaking, by whom? R. Sh. Timergaliyeva said that in 1979 her only daughter and the daughter's husband had gone to Israel, taking their young children -- Rauza Shamsivaliyevna's grandchildren -- with them. Rauza Shamsivaliyevna herself refused to go anywhere from the Soviet Union. For two years she missed her daughter and grandchildren unbearably. Finally she could stand it no more and decided to "reunite" with them. By that time her daughter and her family had already left Israel and had settled in Toronto, Canada.

I shall not attempt here to describe R. Sh. Timergaliyeva's odyssey in detail -- either how quickly she realized what a mistake she had made by leaving her Motherland, or how she, a Tatar, had been forced to declare at HIAS (that is the name of the organization that engages in finding jobs and housing for Jews in the United States) that Timergaliyeva's mother had professed Judaism -- if she did not do that, they threatened to cut off their financial assistance to

her and throw her out into the street. Nor shall I describe how all these American upheavals gave her an ulcer...

Putting it briefly, while still en route, after having had a more than sufficient look at Western life, Timergaliyeva realized: her path should lie not to Toronto, but back to the Soviet Union. But first she had to figure out some way to earn the travel expenses...

And here's a coincidence: at the very moment when R. Sh. Timergaliyeva was flying across the Atlantic Ocean on the Soviet air liner, the Voice of Israel was broadcasting into the air the latest in a series of tearful stories about "split families," about the Zionists' "brave efforts" to attract attention to the fates of the children and mothers who have been forced to live (obviously, as reported by the "voice," because of the Soviet government's fault) far from one another.

I would advise those journalists who are seriously interested in the fate of split families to have a chat with R. Sh. Timergaliyeva or, say, with F. L. Khaykina, who lives in the small Israeli city of Kiryat-Yam. Journalists could find out without any difficulty that at the same time that R. Sh. Timergaliyeva's daughter left her mother and then went to Israel to live with her unknown "relatives," F. L. Khaykina, leaving her only son in Moscow, also went to Israel to be "reunited" with her mythical relatives. In letters to her son in Moscow, she now writes that she had yielded at that moment to Zionist propaganda, now curses herself for having left the Soviet Union, and curses those who lured her to Israel and separated her from her son...

These are two more people who, at one time, left their Motherland and then returned to the Soviet Union. Is it worthwhile writing about them?

It is definitely necessary to write about these people: in order to understand better not only that which is being organized against our country by the ideological interventionists, but also what all of us must do to oppose them.

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

### EMIGRE FAMILY RETURNS TO MOLDAVIA

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 27 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by ATEM correspondents R. Zapadinskiy and D. Chubashenko, under rubric "Beware: Zionism": "Eleven Years and One Day"; first three paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] The Soviet government, guided by humanitarian considerations, has authorized certain former Soviet citizens to return to their motherland. They include the Gdanskiy family from Bendery, who left their hometown 11 years ago and returned home on 24 November 1986.

All these years Aleksandr Ikhilyevich, Mariya Aronovna, and their five children lived on hopes of seeing that day. They had to withstand much during their wanderings on foreign soil. That is why they consider their hour of return to be the happiest one in their life.

ATEM correspondents visited the Gdanskiy family soon after their return. They had not yet gotten over the first excitement from a meeting with those near and dear to them, and their things had not yet been unpacked. Many people had already gathered in the home in order to hear with their own ears what the Gdanskis had encountered in foreign land and what ideas and conclusions they had reached today. This is what the Gdanskiy family members say themselves.

"Immediately upon our arrival in Israel," the head of the family says, "we realized that 14 December 1975, the day that we left Bendery to go to Vienna, was a tragic one for us. That was the start of 11 long years that were spent in a constant search for means of existence and during which we never lost the sense of uselessness, desperation, and homesickness.

"In response to a call from a distant relative whom we had never seen before, we went to Vienna in order to depart from there to the 'promised land' -- Israel. In the capital of Austria we were met by workers from Sochnut -- an international Zionist organization -- and were settled with other emigres like ourselves. The next day we flew to Tel Aviv.

"People say that the first impression is the strongest and most reliable one. What did we encounter on that day? Half the night we went through a long

procedure of filling out various documents, and then we were loaded into a minibus and driven around the city for an hour and a half in a search for a place in any hotel at all. Finally the van stopped in front of an unprepossessing building and we were led into a room with several beds that were covered with torn blankets, and that had dirty pillows and sheets.

"Time will pass and when we want to leave Israel and go on a 'tourist trip abroad,' we will have to pay a considerable amount of money for the lodging in that so-called hotel, for the iron beds, the torn mattresses, the airplane tickets, and for other services.

"Morning came. The whole day none of the Sochnut representatives even remembered our existence."

"I myself had to go looking for them," Mariya Aronovna says, joining the conversation. "I told them, 'I have several small children. Do you really plan to keep us here in the future?' I was indignant. Finally the officials in the immigration service provided housing for us: they took us to the settlement of Mikdaleimik near the city of Haifa.

"There we became especially aware of how militarized a state Israel is. Right next to the building was a military airfield, and starting at 0400 hours planes would take off and land with such a noise that neither we nor the children could sleep calmly. Air raid drills were constantly held in the schools and the students had to run to the bomb shelter. That is how they were drilled in what to do if 'the Arabs attacked' the settlement.

"We were put into an apartment that did not have anything other than the bare walls. There was no furniture, no heating, no lighting, no gas. It was winter outside, and it was raining. The apartment was damp and cold. The children began to get ill, and then we did too. Our daughter Sveta suddenly got a high temperature. My husband went to the doctor. And it was then that we immediately came up against an attitude that it is difficult for a person in the Soviet Union to imagine. The doctor simply refused to treat the sick child until we paid him.

"We were finally given iron beds and mattresses, and, using credit, we bought an electric stove, a refrigerator, and a washing machine. We had difficult persuading the agent trading in those articles to allow us to pay for them in installments.

"It was not until three months later that my husband got a job at a plant. He worked there 12-14 hours a day. It also took me a long time to find a job. Every day I would go to the employment office and finally I found a job at a furniture factory. The conditions were atrocious: it was cold in the shop, the air was polluted, and there was no ventilation. The women had to drag heavy loads themselves, and for doing the same work that the men did, they were paid only half as much."

"We could not understand how people can live in a country like that," the husband says. "We were brought up in a completely different situation. For example, I grew up in a children's home. Helping one another, taking a kindly

attitude toward people -- in our country those things were self-evident. But in a capitalist society, everything is determined by money. Money dictates people's way of life, it forms their very soul, and it represents everything that is human and humanitarian. Every individual, by himself, fights for his own existence. People are alienated and embittered. That's exactly how it is in Israel, and we were convinced of that from our own experience.

"Nevertheless we managed to get out of Israel under the pretext that we were going to visit relatives in Austria. We flew to Vienna so that, from there, we would ask for authorization to return to the USSR."

"The Zionists wanted my husband to volunteer to go into the army," Mariya Aronovna adds. "Before we left for Vienna, he was sent an induction notice. I told the representatives of the induction center that Aleksandr was sick, and they told me threateningly that if I was attempting to deceive them, my husband would be taken to court."

"In Vienna," Aleksandr Gdanskiy says, "for the first three weeks we lived with acquaintances who also, at that time, were going to the West from Bendery. They had two small rooms, but they gave one of them to us. We, of course, had no plans to return to Israel. I knew that the Israeli embassy in Vienna would not extend our tourist passports. Before we left for Austria, officials in the emigration service told me, 'You may decide not to return from Vienna, but you will have to give us your children.' The fact of the matter is that in Israel all the young adults, including young women, are inducted into military service. Many people in the 'promised land' have to use all kinds of tricks and pay large amounts of money to prevent their daughters from being inducted into the army. The girls, in the attempt not to have to wear the military uniform, even go so far as to take part in a fictitious marriage. But I made the decision for myself, 'My children will never live in Israel and defend the Zionists' interest.' Therefore, when I was leaving Israel, I told them flatly that my children would be traveling with me."

"In Vienna we became acquainted with the Baranov family. They did not have anywhere to live, since it cost a considerable amount of money to rent an apartment in the Austrian capital. The mother and children spent the night in the parks, and slept right on the grass. The Austrian police wanted to send them back to Israel, but the woman told the representatives of the authority that she would drown the children in the Danube and commit suicide, but she would never return to that cursed country."

"In the West, people like to talk about 'human rights' in the socialist countries," A. I. Gdanskiy said, "but in the West itself those rights do not even exist. A person can be fired from his job at any moment, and there is no one to complain to. Even if you have a job, in the West you worry constantly about whether you will become sick, or whether you will lose your job, because if you do, that will be the end of everything. My son Oleg spent a lot of time looking for work in Vienna. Finally he was accepted as a sheet-metal worker at one of the construction companies. But he didn't work there long. Once Oleg was late getting to work, but for a valid reason. But no one even wanted to listen to his explanations. The bosses immediately fired him. During our 11 years in the West, we suffered so many insults and humiliations

that today we do not have enough words to express the good feelings that have engulfed us since our first meetings on Soviet land."

"Both in Israel and in the other capitalist countries, there is a constant and purposeful anti-Soviet propaganda campaign," Misha, the Gdanskiys' son, says. "Both in the electrical engineering school and in the plant where I worked, I often happened to hear radio broadcasts reporting a lot of ridiculous stories about the Soviet Union. I knew that it was nothing but lies, but I couldn't say anything to the people working alongside of me. I was afraid that they would exclude me, or fire me. In the West we emigres from the USSR were hated and were called 'Russian pigs.' At lessons in school, the teachers would frequently tell the students various 'astonishing stories' about the rights of Soviet citizens. For example, the students were told that in the USSR young people cannot choose their own profession, and USSR citizens do not have the right to travel freely from one city to another, and many other things."

"Once Sveta came home from school crying," Mariya Aronovna recalls. "It seems that during their classes the children were asked what they wanted to be when they grew up. My daughter answered that she wanted to be a teacher. 'That's not for foreigners,' the teacher told her. That is what the situation in the 'society of equal opportunities' is with regard to choosing a profession. The West has a strictly limited number of specialties that emigre children can get into. The only jobs they can engage in freely are the dirtiest, worst-paid ones."

"We felt that we could not live in the West," Aleksandr Gdanskiy says. "The statutes in effect in Israel do not guarantee the citizens any rights or freedoms. We learned from our own experience that Zionism and democracy are incompatible concepts."

To what was said by A. Gdanskiy we will add what the Israeli press itself writes about this. "I am afraid that if government officials do not change their attitude to the olim (immigrants) from the USSR, they will never see a new aliyah [immigration]. But it makes no difference to them," M. Fishman remarks in his article "There Isn't Even a Hint of Democracy Here," published in the Russian-language newspaper OUR COUNTRY (11 July 1986).

Every former Soviet citizen, upon becoming acquainted with the real situation in the West, experiences a shock when he sees unemployed, homeless, sick old men and children standing in line at a soup kitchen, and actually feels upon himself the hostile attitude of the indigenous inhabitants and the sense of being unnecessary in the "society of equal opportunities." All the emigres to the West have been subdivided into small groups, which are constantly wrangling with one another. We are talking not about the human tragedies of individual migrants. The absolute majority cannot "fit into" the Western way of life. It is truthfully said that it is one thing to have something in the USSR, and another thing to value it. That is the crux of the entire matter. And people become acutely aware of this when they come into contact with the stern and inhuman world of capitalism. In the "promised land" and in other capitalist states, former Soviet citizens do not find what they have been seeking, or what has been luring them from afar.

"All these years we had just one dream -- to return to the USSR as soon as possible," A. I. Gdanskiy says. "In Vienna we went to the Motherland Club at the Soviet Society for Cultural Ties With Compatriots Abroad, looked at Soviet films, and met Soviet citizens. After each such meeting it was increasingly torturous to live in a foreign country, among foreigners, where no one needs anyone, where it is impossible to feel that one is a real person. My children particularly suffered. I was afraid about their future. I did not want them to become replacements in the 'lost' generation of youth in the West. My son Misha even tried to flee Austria and go to the USSR, but he was detained in the train by border guards."

"What did you feel on the day when you learned that your family had been allowed to return to the USSR?"

"Tremendous joy. I realized completely that eleven years had been uselessly eliminated from our life. We want to forget that period as soon as possible and to start a normal life in our Motherland. We are dreaming of returning to our labor collectives. Prior to our departure I worked at a canning plant, and my wife worked at a shoe factory. The children will go to school and work. Sveta may indeed actually become a teacher."

Leaving the Gdanskiy house, we said that their story about life abroad was being published in the newspapers. It would probably be read also by those who have requested OVIR [Visa and Registration Department], Moldavian SSR MVD, to authorize their departure from the USSR. Some of them may say that your recollections about what you experienced are just another propaganda ploy. What would you say to them?"

"I would say that they have been misled by those who, even today, are attempting to poison the friendship among the peoples of the USSR by extolling in every way the 'charms' of life in the West," Aleksandr Gdanskiy replied. "Eleven years ago I myself set a goal for myself -- I would leave the USSR, at any cost. My coworkers tried to dissuade me, but I did not listen to their advice. And I rue that bitterly."

"Many former Soviet citizens who have gone to the West actually encountered 'values' and an entire mode of thinking which are alien to us who came from the USSR. Today they are well aware of this, even those among them who somehow managed to find a job and have been earning rather good salaries. I am convinced that the migrants include a rather large number of those who are secretly dreaming of returning to the USSR. They do not want to write, or are afraid of writing, the truth about their present life. I know instances when several neighbors, working as a group, stuffed a refrigerator full of absolutely everything, and then, in turn, had their photograph taken alongside of it, so that each could send a photograph to friends and relations. This same method was used to fabricate evidence of 'abundance' when photographs were taken against a background of other people's luxurious automobiles and private homes.

"All my friends and relations are ready to meet anyone who wants to hear our story about what we experienced, about our difficult road home to our Motherland."

SOCIAL ISSUES

ArSSR: ILLEGAL FOREIGN CAR PURCHASES SLAMMED

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 5 Dec 86 p 4

[Article by A. Davidyand under the rubric: "A Shelter for Unearned Income,"; "Grandma Sapet's 'Mercedes'"]

[Text] The automobile market was humming, filling the air with the horns of various keys and modulations and the rumble of motors that were being checked by mistrustful buyers. These sounds, together with the car-exhaust, spread out far along the Sovetashenskoye highway.

A "Mercedes" appeared unexpectedly and noiselessly, but it immediately became the center of attention. Clicking their tongues with delight, the buyers surrounded the car, not daring to ask about the price.

"Sixty thousand. Does that suit you?" the portly driver scornfully remarked to a daring buyer whom he seemed was not a real customer. Another gloomy driver named half that price for a 1975 model "Volvo" that he was offering. I recall that he was able to sell the car by the end of the day.

We observed these scenes at an automobile market a year ago. Now the situation has changed sharply. Today, you can hear only the horns of domestic automobiles in the environs of Sovetashenskoye highway. All manner of "Datsuns," "Mercedes," "Opel-Commanders" and other foreign-built automobiles suddenly disappeared from the market at the beginning of July, with the emergence of the resolution on the fight against unearned income. Sensing that the "fat is in the fire," certain owners of imported cars, having a level of official income that is called below average, began to get rid of the glistening objects of pride. The competition changed, as well as the methods of sale of prestigious technology. Middlemen secretly found appropriate customers, and deals were made through a commission shop or through other permissible methods. In order to avoid filling out a declaration and an unpleasant conversation with the administrative organs, the official sum turned out to be 10,000 on the average. Actually, the seller received about three times as much, but in a corner hidden from the eyes.

Steering clear of accusations of being categorical, we note that not all imported cars, of course, are bought by "wrong" money. Among owners there also are scientists, inventors, workers in the field of art and famous sportsmen; i.e., people who receive substantial honoraria, a high wage and

who are well-known in the republic and abroad. But people in this category are exceptions.

Professional drivers belong to the second group, which is more numerous. The fact that drivers utilize state equipment for mercenary purposes attests rather eloquently to the lack of order in a whole series of transport organizations. It cannot but be alarming that a majority of them transport food products.

And the third large group--these are representatives of non-production branches who are employed principally in the area of services and trade. More correctly, their professions and names are not on the list. There are only the designations of the respectable "Mercedes," "Datsuns" and "Oldsmobiles," and the names of go-between persons appear alongside.

A person who is not familiar with the internal mechanism of trade in foreign automobiles, and who glances at the list for the first time, would be amazed by the fact that a majority of the owners of prestigious vehicles are women--and not just any kind, but, namely, housewives and very old women. Only a few of them are engaged in real work activity. But, you see, Fenik Muradyan did not suggest driving to an office to do business when she was buying the elegant "Volvo" S 04-89 AD [license plate number], but just to the precision instruments plant where she was employed as a metals worker. Is it possible that, having passed the sixth decade of life, she had a need for an expensive imported car? It is interesting that her contemporary from Echmiadzin, Khanum Arutyunyan, a worker in the "Elektron" affiliate, also had to provide herself quickly with a car of like make--"Volvo" N 88-50 AD. And it is utterly incomprehensible why housewives Voskeat Grigoryan and Nunik Mirzoyan had to acquire an expensive "Mercedes" M 93-61 AD and a "Toyota" M 76-47 AD.

Even greater perplexity is engendered by the action of grey-haired 73-year-old Grandma Sapet, who recently purchased a "Mercedes Benz" N 89-19 AD. At almost the same time, Grandma Mayram, having acquired an elegant "Volvo" H 88-77 AD, began to astound residents of Echmiadzin with a horn with a strange sound. The epidemic of "Mercedes" worshippers and "Volvo" maniacs also overcame Grandpa Yesay from the village of Dalar and Grandma Varsik from Gekhazor, and many other representatives of the older generation of the Artashantskiy and Echmiadzinskiy rayons.

The Leninakan worshippers of foreign cars behave a little more subtly and with somewhat more foresight. Thus, "Mercedes" R 68-08 AD, which was bought by V. Keyfadzhyan, actually belongs to the chief of the Leninakanskiy sector of "Armbyststroy," E. Abadzhyan. The supervisor of the No. 30 Leninakanskiy gortorg [city store], R. Khachatryan, also preferred not to risk his job. His "Mercedes" R 68-61 AD proved to be registered in the name of his wife, G. Khachatryan, a humble music teacher. Numerous examples of clandestine owners can be cited. But it is not only they who fall in to view. With what means were purchases made, let us say, of the "Mercedes" S 01-76 AD by O. Chitchyan, a worker in Yerevan's Shaumyanskiy Palace of Pioneers, or "Mercedes" S 08-48 AD by M. Oganesyan, the chief bookkeeper of Yerpishchetorg No. 4 [Yerevan Food Store No. 4], and "Pontiac" M 69-04 AD by R. Ishkhanyan,

a 25-year-old driver from the "Ay" co-op center? You see, their earnings are very modest.

And so we have come across an entire phenomenon which, like all phenomena, has its causes and effects. And it is not possible to close one's eyes to it today.

It is significant that among owners of foreign cars (which, by the way, are also considered prestigious and very expensive in the West) there are a very small number of persons who have the wherewithal and the moral right to own them. We are speaking here of those academicians, artists and inventors whose work income allows them to acquire a "Mercedes" or a "Datsun." For these people, living a high spiritual life, and whose moral values have not been altered, all expensive, shining vehicles remain what they actually are-- just a means of transport.

But we are talking about other car owners, about those whose breath is taken away by intriguing foreign models, and for whom ownership of a foreign car is the only way they can stand out and show off to those around them. This characteristic has been typical of the petty bourgeoisie of various stripes since time immemorial. But the problem is not with the simple bourgeoisie on the level of merchants, but with a more frightening evil--to make claims about oneself on the basis of illegally obtained funds. And this is much more dangerous than the lowly petty bourgeoisie.

What should the ordinary employees think, seeing their manager, a communist, drive up to work in a luxurious 6-door "Volvo" [sic] that is priced on the "black" market with a 6-digit figure? About the impunity of illegal activity? About the fact that petty go-betweens and speculators are being rooted out, but that the prominent ones' are invulnerable? That the fine words uttered by their managers at meetings devoted to party and government decisions are empty sounds? And what of the parents who turn over the wheels of "Chryslers" and "Ford Mustangs" to their children who have barely crossed the threshold of 21 years of age. It is hardly likely that they understand that this manner of life, as a rule, cripples youth morally and orients them along moral lines that are foreign to us. Worst of all is that the atmosphere of tolerance which has formed around the owners of expensive foreign cars, frequently acquired with unearned income, fosters lapses into private ownership psychology.

The law on the fight against unearned income and the policy on reorientation adopted by the party and the people have compelled each of us to look anew at many phenomena that exist in our society. And the fanciers of "wrong" money are beginning to feel uneasy about improvement in the moral climate. They are "structuring" themselves and, as we see, they are adapting themselves, and they are conspiring and searching for loopholes. This is the way go-between grandma's and grandpa's and false deals show up at commission shops. Party and public law enforcement agencies should react aggressively to this "structuring" of the wheelers and dealers. React firmly and in principle in the light of the party's decision on the fight against unearned income.

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

### POOR WORKING CONDITIONS OF FEMALE UZBEK BUILDERS NOTED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN ATI in Uzbek on 3 October 1986 carries on page 7 a 900-word article by Tora Qobilov entitled "Women Build Homes" in which he points out that women form a sizeable portion of construction workers in the republic. For example, at Construction Organization 28 of the Tashkent City Main Administration for Construction, 114 of the 380 builders are women. The ranks of such women are constantly growing as young women enter the profession. This kind of work can be physically demanding on women, but foremen cannot lighten their loads out of consideration for their gender. However, the amount of physical labor could be eased if women builders had at their disposal various mechanisms and tools. Leaders of numerous construction organizations continue to make excuses for the scant use of mechanized means, including of such simple items like winches. The lack of these obliges women builders to hoist and carry heavy materials on their shoulders. Moreover, there is a shortage of simple carpenter tools. When these women go home after work they have to cook, clean, wash dishes, take care of children, and do the shopping. There used to be mobile shops at construction sites, which made it easier for women builders to buy what they needed. However, these no longer stop at construction sites. Leaders of construction organizations must comprehend the spirit of the times and begin to show greater concern for improving the working conditions of women by introducing labor-saving devices and mobile shops.

### UZBEK RAYON OFFICIALS CRITICIZED FOR MISHANDLING COURT CASE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN ATI in Uzbek on 10 October 1986 on page 5 carries a 2,500-word article by Yoqubjon Khojamberdiyev entitled "Abuse" in which he recounts the case of Boboali Jorayev whom the Gagarin Rayon People's Court sentenced to four years in a forced regime moral corrections colony on 15 November 1979. Since that time Boboali's father Ergash Jorayev has written numerous letters to official organs asserting that his son was mentally ill and a class two invalid at the time of sentencing and was denied his pension during imprisonment. Furthermore, his father demands that the back pension be collected from the investigators and medical personnel who failed to take his son's illness into consideration and that these people be punished.

In July 1983 the republic procurator vacated the sentence. In September 1984 Boboali was sent to Moscow for psychiatric evaluation, judged to be schizophrenic, and in February 1985 committed to a Samarkand hospital for treatment. Nonetheless, Ergash Jorayev has never received any official response to his appeals.

A recent examination of the case by K.R. Roziqov, Uzbek SSR first deputy chief procurator, placed the blame on two Gagarin Rayon Court psychiatric panels for failing to investigate Boboali's mental health or past behavior, and recommended that these experts be punished by the procurator's office. However, the author fixes blame on the investigators in the case, who should have provided this information to the experts.

#### UZBEKS MUST INTENSIFY FIGHT AGAINST UNEARNED INCOME

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OBZEKISTONI in Uzbek on 31 October 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,100-word lead editorial entitled "We Must Live Purely and Work Honestly" which points out that cases of pilfering, speculation, bribe-taking, and other forms of unearned income are still widespread in the republic. Many ministries and agencies are not sufficiently active in the fight against unearned income. Internal supervision is slack in the trade, consumer co-op, consumer services, and other sectors. Not only are controls weak but bookkeeping and accounting procedures are in disarray. The present situation demands that law enforcement organs step up the fight against such negative phenomena. Those who would get rich off society should know the penalties prescribed for their deeds. Court, police, and procurator organs must make greater use of such public organizations as peer courts, public stations for supervising order, and people's guards. Law enforcement organs must use the full force of Soviet laws and public opinion against lawbreakers.

However, it is important not to proceed hastily or unclearly in carrying out the fight. It is important to be able to distinguish between the speculator and the farmer who sells produce he has raised on his own private plot, and between the parasite and the farmer who brings to market for sale the produce given him because he has overfulfilled his plan. The most important ways to intensify the fight against unearned income are increasing the responsibility of law enforcement organs, improving the legal education of people, and instilling in people a greater intolerance for the psychology of private ownership.

#### ANDIZHAN OBLAST POPULATION FIGURES CITED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 31 October 1986 carries on page 2 a 1,200-word article by correspondent A. Quronboyev entitled "There Are Reserves, But Are They Used?" in which he cites population figures of Andizhan Oblast in the course of discussing the use of labor resources. Andizhan is a densely populated oblast with 376 people per square kilometer. In the last 10 years its population has increased by 300,000 and the number of workers engaged in social production by 476,000. Today, 67 percent of its over 1.5 million people live in rural areas.

## REGIONAL ISSUES

### REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT WORK OF UKSSR LOCAL SOVIETS CRITICIZED

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 10 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by V. Abramov, deputy chief of the Department of Comprehensive Territorial Planning and the Placement of Production Forces, UkSSR Gosplan, and Ye. Klimenko, chief of the Department of Problems of Territorial Planning, Institute of Economics, UkSSR Gosplan, under rubric "Life of the Soviets": "Operating Jointly"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress have defined the basic directions to be taken in restructuring the economic mechanism as the chief link in the cardinal reform of administration. In the system of measures that have been planned, a special place is assigned to the optimal combination of the branch and territorial principles of administration. Specific paths for implementing this task were set forth in the decree recently adopted by the CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers, entitled "Measures for Further Increasing the Role of and Intensifying the Responsibility of the Soviets of People's Deputies for Accelerating Socioeconomic Development in the Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress."

The tasks that have been advanced are especially important for the regions that have exhausted the extensive paths of development, and particularly for Ukrainian SSR.

The economy of the Soviet Ukraine is a very intricate socioeconomic complex. Its firm ties with the country's economy are objectively influenced and to a large extent determine the rates, proportions, and tendencies in the republic's development. Nevertheless, despite the plans that stipulate the coordinated nature of the interests of the branches and regions, in real-life practice there arise situations when society incurs considerable costs that are the result of the lack of coordination in the actions taken by the ministries and the local soviets. It can be noted that in a number of instances the rights and duties are distributed imprecisely among them, and sometimes they are simply not implemented at all.

Let us dwell in more detail on one of the most acute problems. We shall consider the degree of effectiveness of the efforts taken by the local soviets when resolving the problems of the comprehensive development of the regions.

A typical example of their low effectiveness is the situation with the use of labor resources. It is well known that, in conformity with the previously adopted decisions, all enterprises, irrespective of the department to which they belong, must coordinate the limits for the number of workers with the obispolkom. This provides the opportunity for the local agency of authority to balance the available and required manpower resources for the region as a whole. But how is this measure being implemented?

On the one hand, from year to year the oblast planning commissions have been coordinating the manpower limits for all enterprises irrespective of the department to which they belong. On the other hand, in each of the 25 oblasts in the republic the number of personnel requisitioned by the enterprises exceeds the coordinated number by 15,000-20,000 persons. For example, the number of workers coordinated in 1986 for Zaporozhye Oblast was 19,900 persons less than the requisitioned number.

But this is only half the problem, when the ministries want to get more people than they are given. There is something else that is worse. Frequently the ministries, when approving the limits to the number of workers and employees for their subordinate enterprises, simply ignore the position of the local soviets. For example, USSR Minstroydormash [Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building] approved for a pilot-experimental plan for producing construction-finishing machines a 1986 personnel limit that was 277 persons larger than the number that had been coordinated at the local soviet. An infinite number of such examples for the republic as a whole could be cited. This kind of approach results in the unrestrained, uncontrollable increase in the number of jobs, many of which are "stillborn," inasmuch as they appeared as a result of the implementation of a backward technical idea.

The job certification being carried out in Kharkov Oblast, one of the well-developed oblasts and one that is fairly typical in many respects, has shown that approximately one-fourth of the jobs which have developed should be made more efficient or eliminated. In 1986 alone it was planned to eliminate 3412 jobs and to improve the efficiency of more than 10,000. A similar situation prevails in other oblasts of the republic.

What, then, happens as a result? The local soviets do not make complete use of their rights, and the ministries and departments do not take into consideration the interests of the regions. Obviously, both groups are "underworking," not by virtue of their incompetence, but because they have been objectively placed in those conditions in which they cannot operate differently. The sources of this problem are concealed in the economic mechanism that regulates the relations between the primary link of production and the local agencies of authority. It must be admitted that today these relations are imperfect, as a result of which the interests of the enterprise and the intentions of the local agencies of authority do not coincide in many spheres.

The adopted decree has called for the resolution of this problem. However, the coordination of the actions taken by the branches and the regions cannot be viewed only from the positions of the territory. In order to resolve it, it is necessary to isolate the basic link that makes it possible to reveal an

entire chain of concomitant questions. These include the improvement of the enterprise's cost accounting relations. Those relations must be clearly divided into two parts: First, the interaction that the enterprise has with the ministry or other economic entities similar to it; and secondly, the cost accounting relations with the local agencies of authority.

But whereas the first group of relations is being improved extremely intensively within the confines of the large-scale economic experiments, with the relations in the "enterprise-region" system the situation is different. On the plus side of that work it is possible to list, with certain qualifications, only the experiment that is being carried out in two oblasts of the republic to transfer part of the profit derived by union-level enterprises to the local budgets, as well as a number of recommendations that have not yet found any practical application. Therefore at the present time, when the work of implementing this decree has been extended on a broad front, the problem of searching for the optimal distribution of the product created at the enterprise between that enterprise and the local agencies of authority must be resolved in an especially persistent manner. If we resolve it successfully, many other questions will become specific ones.

The decree stipulates the formation of the income section of the local budgets in greater dependence upon the work results of the union- and republic-level associations, enterprises, and organizations. Starting in 1986, the local budgets will also receive in fixed amounts (percentages) deductions from the turnover tax depending upon the volume of retail commodity turnover in state and cooperative trade. Starting on 1 January 1987 the monetary receipts from the application of economic sanctions for the inefficient use of material resources are also listed as income in the local budgets.

Nevertheless, the problem remains incompletely resolved as a consequence of the fact that the norms for making deductions from the profit derived by the enterprises of superior subordination, for payment to the budgets of the local soviets, have not been theoretically substantiated. USSR Ministry of Finance, in 1985-1986, carried out an experiment in a number of republics and oblasts throughout the country with the purpose of developing a procedure for the new financial interactions between the local soviets and the enterprises of superior subordination. The crux of that experiment is not only in the transfer by the centrally subordinate industrial enterprises and associations of part of their profit (10 percent) to the local budgets, but also in the fact that the income section of the local soviets' budgets will be strictly coordinated with the work results of the enterprises on the territory subordinate to the soviets.

The preliminary results of the experiment attest to the fact that the mechanism of interaction between the branch and territorial agencies of administration has been developed with insufficient precision. Its weakest link is the fact that the 10-percent norm for making deductions from profit was taken arbitrarily. And inasmuch as it has not been possible to find the optimal correlation when distributing the enterprises' profit between the ministries and the local budgets, the regions come up against a large number of problems. In a few places there are insufficient funds, and in other places the funds have not been used. Therefore the creation of the

scientifically substantiated norms for these deductions to be paid into the local budget remains problem number one.

After the optimal size of the resources to be left at the disposal of the local agencies of authority has been found, the question concerning their optimal distribution will arise. In other words, it will be necessary to define precisely what part of the resources will remain at the enterprise's "place of registry," and what part will go "to the top," that is, to the budgets of superior soviets.

The resolution of this problem will not tolerate any postponement. It is exceptionally complicated and its undesirable aspects are already manifesting themselves, for example, in the unjustifiably rapid growth of the republic's oblast centers. One can scarcely consider it to be normal when, in certain of our oblasts, half or more of the commodity output of industry is produced by the oblast centers -- for example, Odessa, Kharkov, Zaporozhye, Chernovtsy. The enterprises in the oblast centers employ more than half the total number of persons working in the oblast. For example, Zaporozhye employs 56.6 percent of the persons working in industry in the oblast; Lvov, 55 percent; Odessa, 62.2 percent; and Kharkov, 72.2 percent. Many oblast centers attract a considerable number of the pendulum-type migrants who have absolutely no concern for developing the social and everyday infrastructure of the areas where they live. For example, 15 percent of the rayon population lives in Ivano-Frankovsk, but the number of workers constitutes 33 percent of the total number of persons employed; Lvov has 29.3 percent of the population and 37.4 percent of the persons employed; and Ternopol has, respectively, 15.3 and 36.5 percent. This is one of the most unfavorable tendencies in the republic's development.

However, even though this is an important question, it is not the chief one. The basic question continues to be the problem of developing a substantiated norm that regulates the relations between the enterprises and the regions. This norm must be differentiated with a consideration of the specifics both of the oblasts in the republic and the branches of the economy. Its application in the practical situation will place the resolution of the problem of reproducing the resource potential of the regions on a fundamentally new, scientific basis.

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